AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND OLIGARCHY

DEVRİMCİ SOL

(REVOLUTIONARY LEFT)

Revolutionary political review about Turkey and Kurdistan

OUR REVOLUTIONARY WAY IS THE WAY ON WHICH OUR MARTYRS WERE FALLEN

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FOREWORD

The peoples of Turkey and Kurdistan witnessed noticeable growth of offences of Imperialists and their monopolist collaborators during last two months. The policies of Genocide and infringement of human rights are permanently going on throught the period of rule of existing fascist regime.

Under the title of "Break your Pens", we publish the last words of the "Defence" of Devrimci Sol captives in the main process of Devrimci Sol, gathered together by the leader "Dursun Karatas in 1988. Captives often gave serious challenge to the judge of military rule and called them to prove their claims. Resistance was never absent in the trails from the beginning to end. The court-rooms had been the places where Imperialism and Oligarchy were judged by revolutionaries.

In following pages, we issue the declaration of Devrimci Sol which is about the Municipal Election in Turkey on March 27, 1994. In Declaration, Devrimci Sol made a call to all peoples Turkey and Kurdistan not to vote and boycott.

Under title of "Imperialist Magic is dissolved, peoples resist, socialism lives" you will faced with the imperialist lies and the resistance of peoples against it.

"Anti-racism and state repression, is the heading of analysis concerning the attacks of racist group against the foreigners in European countries. These attack have been organized and oriented by the politic programmes of European Imperialist states. Today, to express the events only with the classical racism dangers means to lose the clear properties of the problem.

"Torture" it is fascist Turkish State's only way to fight the increasing revolutionary resistance. Even more, it is not necessary to a democrat or revolutionary, they never tolarate with the slightest difference of opinion. 72 kinds of torture are being applied together in Turkey and Kurdistan. We have published the methods and aims of torture.

Under the title of "The results of the war in Turkey and Kurdistan in January and February 1994" we proceed in publishing the results of "Dirty War" declared against Turkish and Kurdish oppressed peoples.

The month of March is full of anniversaries of importants day in revolution history of Turkey and Kurdistan.

March 8, is the International Women's Day which has been greeted all over the world.

On March 16, 1976, seven revolutionary students from Istanbul University were killed under the gunfire of fascists in front door of the University, many of them were wounded.

March 21 is the traditional day of Middle East's people. It has been greeted with enthusiasm during centruies.

On March 30, 1972, nine leader cadres of THKP-C (Liberation Party/ Front of Peoples of Turkey), THKO (Liberation Army of peoples of Turkey) and our great leader, Mahir CAYAN were brutally killed in Kizildere (a small villiage in Black Sea Region) by military forces of fascist regime.

On February and March, eight of guerillas belonging the Rural Guerilla Units of Devrimci Sol were martyred by counter-guerilla teams of fascist state. They fought to their last bullet and fell fighting in Black Sea Region and Dersim.

We will follow their honourable life!

Our struggle for independence, Democracy and Socialism os continuing uninterrupter !

There is no other way but to use revolutionary violence against the violence of dominating classes.

The days where will be exercised the people's justice, will absolutely arrive.

See you next issue,

The Editor

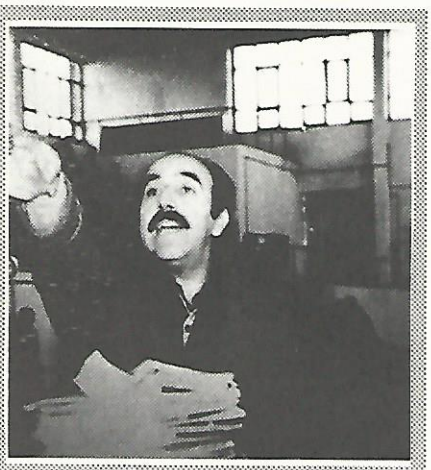
BREAK YOUR PENS!

The eighties witnessed a marked growth of the state terror, torture and executions. Military-fascist regime formed by Generals collaborating with US Imperialists on 12th September, 1980, tried to impose their absolute domination over all sections of society. Oppressions, aggression against the revolutionaries and working classes were followed by the new attacks. They mobilized all their capacities (police teams, army, media, courts, jails, torturers, ... etc.) to destroy and eliminate the opposition. They have no sympathy towards anything which will cause a loss of time or energy and began to murder or imprison thousands of revolutionaries. Hundreds were captured and disappeared under detention despite eyewitnesses. People were thrown into jail even for slightest difference of thought or for voicing minor complaints.

But, in coming years, they were confronted by the wall of resistance. Revolutionary captives began to play leading role to the oppressed masses from the prisons despite the wild pressure of Oligarchy and its slaves. Prisons became the new and massive area of struggle. This revolutionary form of struggle was characterised by resistance for honour of being human and honour of revolution against all kinds of offences of Oligarchy.

At this moment, the political captives of Devrimci Sol created the tradition of struggle and became the vanguard of oppressed masses and organized resistance. They carried it out despite of all kinds of wild conditions and limitation.

The prisons became the fearful places for the Oligarchy and The Courts had been the places where Oligarchy and its collaborators were judged by the revolutionaries.



The following passage was stated by Revolutionary Captives in process of Devrimci Sol in front of the puppet judge in law court formed by military rule imposed on our country on 12th September 1980. And, these were the last words of Revolutionary Captives in their defence against accusation.

Take your decision!..

IT'S OBVIOUS THAT THERE IS MUCH THING TO BE SAID BUT WE WANT TO END ANY MORE. DON'T FORGET AT ALL, THAT!

YOUR TORTURES, YOUR DUNGEONS, YOUR HEAVY PENALTIES, YOUR EXECUTION WILL NEVER BE ENOUGH TO OVER SHADOW OUR RIGHTNESS AND TO CHANGE THE COURSE OF THE HISTORY.

WE WILL PULL DOWN THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND FOUND THE REVOLUTIONARY POWER OF THE PROLETARIANS, THE VILLAGERS AND THE WHOLE WORKERS.

YOU REPRESENT THE OLIGARCHY, THE IMPERIALISM AND THE MUST ORDER. WE REPRESENT THE PROLETARIANS, THE POOR VILLAGERS, THE WHOLE WORKER PEOPLE AND THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY.

WE ARE NOT ALONE! WE ARE ALL TOGETHER WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

WE ARE NOT POWERLESS; OUR POWER IS IN OUR BELIEF AND OUR HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL RIGHTNESS.

WE WILL BE THE WINNER, BECAUSE WE ARE THE PEOPLE ALL THE RIGHT ONE.

WE STARTED FOR A NEW WORLD AND WILL FOUND IT.

THE OLIGARCHY KEPT US CAPTIVE BUT COULDN'T DEFEAT.

THE OLIGARCHY COULDN'T ANNIHILATE NEITHER OUR THOUGHT NOR OUR STRUGGLE IN SPITE OF HIS TORTURES AND SAVAGENESS, THE EXECUTION DECISION AND HEAVY PENALTIES GIVEN BY YOUR HANDS AND WOULD NEVER BE ABLE TO DO IT.

AND WE BELIEVE THAT!

WHILE BREAKING YOUR PENS AT THE NAME OF THE DOMINATING FORCES. YOUR HANDS WILL BE TREMBLING AND YOU WILL NOT BE ABLE PRONOUNCE YOUR WORDS.

BUT WE WILL CRY OUT WITH OUR HIGHEST VOICE.

DEAD TO FASCISM, LONG LIVE OUR STRUGGLE!

LONG LIVE OUR STRUGGLE OF INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM!

WE, AS MARXIST-LENINISTS, MAKE CALL SINCE MANY YEARS.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ALL THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

THE WHOLE PROLETARIAN AND THE WORKING PEOPLE OF TURKEY, UNITE!

AND STRUGGLE!..

YES, AGAINST THE CRUELTY AND TYRANNY OF THE DOMINATING CLASSES.

AGAINST THE OCCUPATION AND PILLAGE

POLITICS OF THE IMPERIALISTS.

AGAINST THE UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION OF THE CAPITALISM;

THE WORKERS AND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES DON'T HAVE ANY OTHER WAY.

THERE IS NO OTHER WAY BUT TO USE THE REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AGAINST THE VIOLENCE OF THE DOMINATING CLASSES.

BECAUSE THESE ARE THE DOMINATING CLASSES WHO CREATED, PRODUCED AND BRING OUT THE VIOLENCE AS A RULE.

THE DAYS WHERE WILL BE EXERCISED THE PEOPLE'S JUSTICE, WILL ALSO ARRIVE.

THE DAYS WHERE THE WORKERS, THE PEASANTS AND THE PROLETARIANS WILL.

THIS IS CERTAIN!

PROLETARIAT AND THE WORKING PEOPLE WILL NEVER FORGIVE ANY OFFENCE COMMITTED AGAINST HIMSELF AND AGAINST THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

WE, AS THE REVOLUTIONARIES FROM TURKISH, KURDISH AND ALL THE NATIONALITIES SAY THAT;

YOU FLOUNDER USELESSLY.

YOUR IDEAS WHICH DEFEND THE COOPERATION WITH THE IMPERIALISM AND THE CAPITALISM ARE THROWN TO THE GARBAGE DUMP OF THE HISTORY.

YOUR DECISIONS CAN'T CHANGE ANYTHING.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO US!

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE RESISTERS!

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES!

BREAK YOUR PENS, DO YOUR HANDS NOT TREMBLE!

THOSE WHO ORDER YOU WAIT FOR YOUR HAPPY NEWS.

THE GENERALS AND THE TORTURERS OF THE 12 SEPTEMBER AND YOUR ADMINISTRATORS OF POWER ARE WAITING FOR YOUR DECISION OF EXECUTION.

TRT (TURKISH RADIO TELEVISION OP), THE PRESS THE NEWS AGENCIES, THE TELECOM SATELIST OF THE IMPERIALISTS ARE WAITING FOR YOUR DECISION TO BROADCAST THEM TO THE WHOLE CORNERS OF THE WORLD.

BREAK YOUR PENS, DO NOT YOUR HANDS TREMBLE.

PEOPLES OF TURKEY ARE WAITING FOR US.

THEY WANT TO HEAR ONE MORE TIME OUR SLOGANS OF INDEPENDENCE DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

THEY ARE WAITING FOR HEARING FROM US, WHO ALWAYS PREFERRED TO BE KILLED INSTEAD OF SURRENDERING, WHO STAYED IN THE DUNGEONS FOR YEARS BUT WHO RESISTED, OUR WORDS OF „WE DIDN'T COMMIT ANY CRIME AGAINST THE PEOPLE AND AGAINST THE HUMANITY THAT WHO HAVE TO ASK TO BE FORGIVEN."

BREAK YOUR PENS, DO YOUR HANDS NOT TREMBLE.

WE DON'T FOR ANYTHING FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT WHICH IS THE COLLABORATOR OF THE IMPERIALISM AND THE PRACTICAL OF THE EXPLOITATION AND THE CRUELTY.

THE ONLY THING WE WANT TO BE KNOWN IS THAT; THOSE WHO MASSACERED THOUSANDS OF PATRIOTS AND REVOLUTIONARIES, WHO TORTURED HUNDRED THOUSANDS OF THEM, WHO KEEP OUR COUNTRY UNDER THE YOKE OF THE IMPERIALISM, WILL CERTAINLY PAY THE COST OF THEIR CRIMES.

WE, AS THE CHILDREN OF OUR PEOPLE AND OF THIS EARTH, WILL NEVER FORGIVE THEM.

BREAK YOUR PENS, DO YOUR HANDS NOT TREMBLE.

WE HAVE NO FEAR OF YOUR DUNGEONS AND YOUR EXECUTIONS. OUR HISTORY OF STRUGGLE IS THE PROOF OF OUR RESISTANCE AGAINST THE CRUELTY OF THE COUP OF 12 SEPTEMBER DURING, THE LAST EIGHT YEARS.

DO THE WHOLE PEOPLES OF THIS EARTH, OUR CONFIDENTS AND ENEMIES BE WITNESSES OF OUR STRUGGLE WHICH WILL CONTINUE TILL WE WIPE UP THE CRUELTY AND THE EXPLOITATION ON ALL OVER THE EARTH.

YES, TAKE YOUR DECISION.

TAKE IT THAT „MASTERS" OF THE COUNTRY, THE IMPERIALISTS, THE MONOPOLISTIC BOURGEOISIES! THE BIG LAND LORDS, USURER-MERCHANTS, THE TORTURES WHO ARE THE SLAVES OF THEM, THE JAILERS, SOLD WRITERS AND SOLD BRAINS WOULD PROPOSE A TOAST.

PROGRESSIVES, PEASANTS, PROLETARIANS, PATRIOTS, INTELLECTUALS!...

THIS DILAPIDATED AND SMELLY ORDER IS NOT INDESTRCYABLE, IT IS DESTRUCTIBLE.

TO DO IT, WE HAVE TO CHANGE OUR HUNDRED YEARS' PASSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF „IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN THIS WAY AND ALWAYS WILL BE". AND WE HAVE TO TRUST OUR POWER WE HAVE TO TOLERATE THE PAINS AND HEAVY PRICES FOR A UNEXPLOITED AND FREE COUNTRY.

WE HAVE TO VENTURE EVEN TO BE DEFEATED TEN TIMES, TO REACH THE VICTORY.

THIS ORDER IS NOT INDESTRUCTIBLE, IT IS.

BUT IT NEEDS TO STRUGGLE.

IT NEEDS IMPUDENCE, AND MUCH MORE IMPUDENCE.

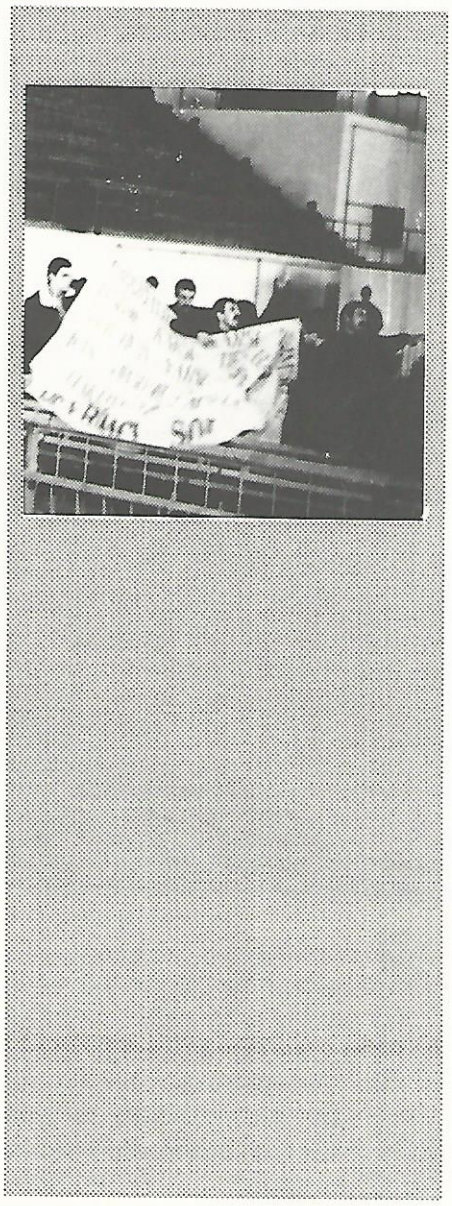
WE HAVE NOTHING TO LOOSE.

BUT WE HAVE VERY GREAT COUNTRY TO WIN.

LONG LIVE THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF TURKISH AND KURDISH PEOPLES.

LONG LIVE THE MARXISM-LENINISM

LONG LIVE DEVRIMCI SOL



DEVRİMCİ SOL BULLETIN

To the Kurdish, Turkish and all peoples who live in our country

LET US THWART THE ELECTION GAME OF FASCISM!

Your country where fascism reign despite elections which don't cause the regime, reorganizing the balance to maintain the regime, building up new equilibrium, neutralizing the reactions of the people; will be generally judged as a maneuver of oligarchy and imperialism. Before elections the promises to our peoples have always been made in a demagogic way. The promises will be forgotten after the elections.The elections follow other elections. Nothing changed.

One party take the place of another party. The wheel wheels on. This wheel is the wheel of fascism which oppress all people, tortures, tyrannize over and incites the peoples against each other.

They don't allow, that parties and people, who love their country and peoples and represent their interests to turn the wheel in the opposite direction.

Candidates, who oppose the regime, who show the real facts to the people are faced with violence, threat, extortion, banishment and arrest. But these are all unable methods to silence their voice.

To get in confrontation with the brutality and tyranny of fascism, it's not necessary to be a socialist. It's enough to be a patriot and oppose the injustice and tyranny, to defend national identity.

Today the only one reason for removing the immunity of the DEP MPs, for arresting their candidates and their exclusion from the elections is, beause they say:"We are Kurds".

TURKISH NATION, WORKING PEOPLE OF TURKEY

Now, after the exclusion of DEP candidates from the elections, there is nothing to hide, it is clear that the ruling power, who are always talking about democracy and who always try to hide the real face of fascism, will continue their politics of terror.

Today the parliament, the minister, including the president of Turkey and all state offices carry out the orders and decision of the general staff.

They rule like after a coup. They give orders and enact decisions, like the generals, who couldn't directly seize the power on 12th September 1980, without permission and agreement of the imperialists.

The fact is, if wanted or not, but everybody must accept, that in our country takes a civil war place.

One side is the Kurdish revolutionaries and patriots. The other side are the power, army, police and counter-guerilla in service of imperialism, collaborating monopolies and large landed property.

Through this war policy, the army, as a armed force of the state, got a position where she lead the other forces of the state. The state is now reign by the general staff and the counter guerilla. The members of parliament are only puppets and „advisory board".

The Cabinet Council and the president of the republic have been developed into bureaucrats, who only carry out some diplomatic maneuvers by order of the general staff, to cover the dirt of the counter revolutionary war and to veil the tyranny of fascism and to distract the people.

TURKISH PEOPLE

Oppression and tyranny are not only things like the exclusion of DEP from the elections. The state got helpless when they were faced with the national fight of the Kurdish people. And this powerlessness, when it deepens, increase oppression and terror.

The exclusion of DEP candidates from the elections is only one example for this and only a little part.

Particularly the Kurdish villages are occupied by the army. The villages and towns will be bombed, people will be massacred and hundred thousands of Kurds are confrontated with threat, arrest, banishment with the ity of

longterm aim to exterminate the resistance of the Kurdish national movement.The shortterm aim is, through legitimate of any kind of oppression and violence and to take away the right of the Kurdish people to vote and to be voted, to use the elections on 27th March to strengthen the lie :"There is no Kurdish question, there is only a question about terrorism."

They will continue the election play to strengthen this lies and to cheat the peoples of Turkey and around the world.

The Generals know neither the Kurdish national movement nor revolutionary struggle, which enchance everywhere in the country can be stopped with oppression. Any kind of oppression and measure of fascism against the struggle for freedom is useless, because the revolutionary struggle spread in all parts of our country. The oppression doesn't cause the surrender of the revolutionaries, but it cause spread and development of revolutionary struggle.

The oligarchy is situated in a blind alley. Because of this reason the anti guerilla staff tries in the name of „fight against terror" with methods of coup and the declaration of a state of emergency to reign the country. The wave of opression and terror is blowing without differents over Turks, kurds, Arabs and all nationalities of our working peoples.

TURKISH NATION

Any nation on earth, which we call our home, developed a cultural and national identity, in hundrets of years with pain, poverty and if necessary with bloodshed. It is a obvious right of any nation to live in their own country and to have their own identity.

If a nation thinks, it is their honour and dignity to protect their national identity and other nations don't respect this and try to prevent it, means this only they can't respect their own national identity, they discriminate theirself and play with their own honour and dignity. The Turkish Nation is infatuated with their national dignity. The national dignity of Turkish people, the ground of our country and the economics can't be sold by the racist fascists and present leaders of the state and generals. They are enemies of the national dignity and identity of the Turkish nation. In this country from Kurdistan to Rumeli (Anatolien and European part of Istanbul), which we call our home, Turks, Kurds, Arabs and other peoples with different national cultures live together.

No nation can discriminate other nations by saying „we are the superior nation", „we are stronger, the authority of the state is in our hand". If they do it in spite of this, that means they don't respect their own national dignity. From this point they will be impressed with a racist, fascist and oppressed character.

Fascism is racist and theefore separatist. Today the state does this job. Our working sister nations haven't had any enmity against each other untill the ruling power incited our peoples against each other. Today the state tries to incite the peoples against each other to maintain his exploitation and tyranny.

We must thwart this game of the fascism. This is above all a task of the Turkish people, which are used as a weapon against the Kurdish people. Actually there are no different interests between the Turkish and the Kurdish people. The interest of the Turkish nation is to support the Kurdish nation to realize the conditions for live together brotherly.

Those, who are afraid about national liberty know very well that the liberty of nations strengthen the brotherhood between the peoples and for that reason they can't maintain their exploitation regime.No force can change the fact, that in our country many nations want to live in their own identity.

Today the Kurdish people and tomorrow other Peoples have the right to demand their national right. To let our people, who has dozen national identities, live together under free conditions and let them fight against imperialism, fascism and tyranny, is the greatest fear of the state that is why they are racist. Therefore they spread enemity between Kurds and Turks.

This is obviously you can see it with your own eyes. Soldiers will be mobilized in the Blacksea region, the Aegean region, the Mediterranean region to be send to the war zone, to shoot Kurds and to drive the Kurdish people away from their Land. Among the hundred of thousands of soldiers are neither childs of the ministers and generals, nor childs of the bosses of the holdings. They are the children of Turkish workers, retailer and peasants, the childs of the poor people. When your child died in this dirty counter-revolutionary war, often you will be informed months afterwards.

-This is the government!..

Long ago the time has come to ask „who dies for whom and why?" and to raise the voice. The blood of your children sheeds for the wedding, which cost trillion TL, and for their live in luxury and for the children of the capitalists. The blood of your children sheeds even for the son

DEVRİMCİ SOL BULLETİN

of the chief of general staff Doğan Güreş, who is a philanderer, vagabond and gambler. Yes, the literature of the state for home and nation is completely hypocritical aims to incite the nations against each other.

We must not deliver our worths like home and nation to the racist and tyrannous state. The sheeding blood is our blood and this home is the home of all nations. Each nation with his own identity will live free in this home. The duty of any nation is to support the nation, who demands their national rights and fight with her together.

IN THEIR NATIONAL DIGNITY INFATUATED TURKISH NATION!...

We must thwart the game of elections of fascism. The exclusion of DEP candidates from the elections, their confrontation with tyranny is one part of the fight, which is directed to the extermination of the Kurdish national identity by using the Turkish people against the Kurdish people. The Turkish people must transform their historical sensibility and dignity int action and resistance against the politics of fascism.

The exclusion of parties and people from elections, and their oppression, must be seen as a attack against the national dignity.

An election, where not everybody will be allowed to take part and where the right of participation will be decided by the generals, is a measure against all peoples.

In consciousness of the fact to refuse the generals, it is the duty not to vote for any party and to declare our solidarity to the members of the DEP. Under this conditions to support any party or to suggest an independent candidate means to support the election policy of the generals.

We request all candidates, who we support as an organisation and all candidates, who claims to be democrat, patriot, progressive ore revolutionary to stand back from the elections and to leave the generals alone with their elections.

THE UNBOWED KURDISH PEOPLE!

The fascism wants to stop the national revolt of the Kurdish people with oppression, terror, banishment and their election politics. This war is a war of force and determination. The generals want to achieve a cheap victory with power and violence. They want to achieve a „victory" through afraid the people and excluse the DEP candidates from the elections.

We have not to allow them to get this victory. We must against arrest, banishment or threat, anyway where and how, personally or in mass scale, resist.

If we offer mass resistance, and each action they want to force us with violence will be changed in the opposite direction, so they have no chance to succeed. They can bomb our villages and towns, arresting hundred thousands of us and force us into exite, but they will never be able to exterminate a nation or to intimidate a nation.

We must stop the immigration and must stay at our land. The members of the parliament who claim that they are acting in the name of the Kurdish people have to leave the parliament, which only function is to continue the game of the fascism, they must join the struggle.

We must organize mass resistance against oppression, threat and banishment in the villages, towns, under no conditions we have to go to the ballot-box. They are not able to force all people to the ballot-box.

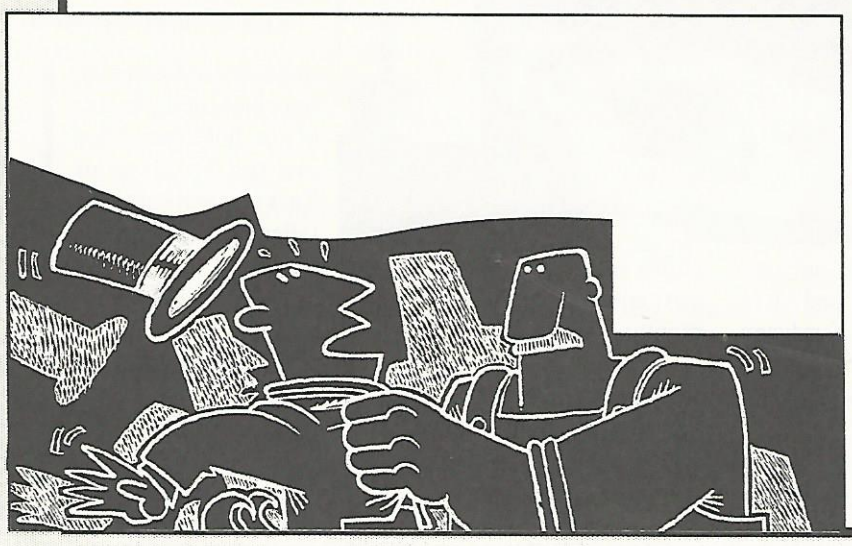
TURKS, KURDS, ARABS, LAZS, GEORGIANS, CIRCASSIANS AND ALL NATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE!

The real owner of our country are the people and nations, who live here. Our whole wealth belongs to our people. The oppression of the state directs against all nations. The state wants to use all nations for his imperialist and capitalist interest. The state and the generals are unable to speak in the name of our peoples. There is one task that is to unite and to fight and we will get back everything that contains the term nation and country.

From the united war of the peoples and nations the persons will flee who have nothing to do with the country and the peoples and have American passports in their pocket.

Our country is not the garden of collaborating monopolies with imperialists and their forces and generals. Everything they have stolen from us, we will get back.

Our people will not be the tools of the game „divide and rule". We will thwart this game.



ALL NATIONS... LETS DEMAND THE FREEDOM OF EVERY NATION!

LET US UNITE, LET US FIGHT AND RUN TO THE VICTORY!

LET US THWART THE ELECTIONS GAME OF FASCISM!

DON'T TAKE PART AT THE ELECTIONS!

THE IMPERIALIST MAGIC IS DISSOLVED PEOPLES RESIST, SOCIALISM LIVES

During the years 1989,'90 and '91 such sayings as „socialism is dead", „a world with only one pole" were very popular. But then the exact opposite began to happen. First, newspapers had to change their headlines and they started to write about the „footsteps of communism". They were saying that „communism is rising again". Yes, it is true: The ghost of communism has started once more to walk around them, although the imperialists were sure that they had buried it to the sound of songs and music.

Those who wrote the theories of mistrust in the people and in socialism while returning to capitalism in the socialist countries, now have to tear up all they have written.

We are still "in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions". The face of world is still shaped by the struggles and resistance of peoples against imperialism...

Of course, it is not an upsurge of revolution that is happening today. We do not live in a period in which imperialism will be broken to pieces tomorrow.

But the wave of counter-revolution that defined the late 1980's and early 1990's has already lost its initial speed. We are now in a period that compels us not to abandon the revolutionary theories which are already proved by the experiences of the 20th century, but to hold them more and more decisively and to put them into practice.

The Arsenal of the War Against the People: The Bankruptcy of Revisionism...

The massive bombing of Iraq in 1991 was in fact a continuation of another bombardment by imperialism against the people which started in the late 1980s. Imperialism exhibited a "war-show" in Iraq in order to consolidate the effects of poisonous arrows which are directed towards the brains and hearts of people by means of television, radio, newspapers and other news agencies, and to announce that "a new world order" had started.

Of course all that happened was not a "media" war. This war was actually a new stage in the existing war between the oppressed peoples and the oppressors for hundreds of years, and of the struggle between capitalism and socialism since the beginning of the 1900s.

The ammunition of this war, directed against the people, was the "return to capitalism" in socialist countries. Every step towards capitalism in socialist countries, above all in the USSR, and every attempt at compromise with imperialism renewed and strengthened this ammunition, and as a result of this, imperialism intensified its bombardment with these new weapons.

As Gorbachev took power in the USSR, he first addressed himself to the problems and ailments of the socialist system. The problems he mentioned were those which were pointed out for years by revolutionaries who were not imitators of the USSR. However, even this was not enough to analyse the point arrived. Suddenly a positive climate appeared among some left groups who were only interested in identifying (and very superficially) the problems but not in solving them. "Gorbachevism" appeared. The revolutionaries pointed out the reality that the identification and the expression of the problems, which everybody could anyhow easily see, was partly correct, but that the proposals to solve them were beyond the borders of socialism.

However, this kind of warning carried no importance for groups who are not capable of standing on their own feet and who don't have the tradition to understand politics with their own heads. Everything had to be correct if Gorbachev, the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, says so... Meanwhile, there was another development which would open the eyes of everybody.

Praise From Imperialism and the Illusion Of the Imperialist Media

It is proved by historical experience that if the line we follow and put into practice is supported by counter-revolutionaries and imperialists, then this must make us wonder. A revolutionary must do so. Especially if imperialism speaks in praise of us, this means we have made a mistake, we have missed something.

The process had reached just such a point. The bourgeois press was full of praise for Gorbachev, and after a while even the president of the USA started to speak in praise of him. Gorbachev was very popular in the USA, even more than the president of the USA. His books were best-sellers. Of course the reason was that the imperialists had already seen that Gorbachev was on the road to capitalism.

Then the imperialist media began to publish Gorbachev's every word and every step, of course interpreting them according to their wishes.

At the same time, the socialist countries of Eastern Europe whose ideologies, politics and economies were formed for years in line with the Soviet CP, didn't delay in following Gorbachev's road to capitalism.

For imperialism, the ammunition of a new war against socialism was ready now... The first target of the imperialist media's bombardment was the people of the socialist countries. Socialism hadn't managed to make them happy, and now the advantages of capitalism were being revealed to them. Those who discovered them first were most likely the privileged bureaucrats of the CPs. And with the aid of these privileged bureaucrats the counter-revolutions were staged one after the other. Imperialism almost manage to create an illusion all over the world with their help: "Socialism is dead".

The Soviet CP-oriented communist Parties undertook objectively the role of mediator in spreading this illusion to the world.

The capitalist restorations in socialist countries followed one after another. Countries like Rumania and East Germany which didn't "adapt" themselves to this process, were also pushed into the process with plots and coups organised by the CIA and the KGB.

Everything Is Not Yet in Place For The New World Order of Imperialism

The capitalist restoration alone was of course not enough for imperialism. First of all, these countries had to open their doors to the imperialist market completely. They had to fully surrender themselves to imperialism. They had to carry out the programmes of the IMF and queue up for debt from the World Bank. And for all of these they had to be much weaker.

First, the money taps were turned on. It was well known through the experience of the Marshall plan that giving credit was the best treatment to make a country economical dependent. Afterwards, imperialism sowed the seeds of enmity between the peoples in order to weaken their political power. Chauvinism was to the advantage of the collaborator bourgeoisies which were just emerging. The seeds of enmity had been prepared in the hands of these collaborators. By provoking nationalism, imperialism was weakening the people. And on the other hand, money was flowing into the cash-boxes of the arms monopolies.

There was a large degree of success in transforming the "old" socialist countries into "new" capitalist colonies in the economic and political sense. But this was not enough. Imperialism wanted to establish a new world order: And to achieve such on order, in which the commands of imperialism would be obeyed, there were some other problems to deal with outside the socialist countries.

Above all, there were such countries which rejected being the colonies of imperialism and insisted on remaining as socialist countries in spite of all reactionary winds. There were still wars against imperialism in Asia, in Africa and Latin America ... . And there were still revolutionary movements who defended socialism and waged a war for the independence and freedom of peoples, as well as for socialism.

The imperialist illusion was intensified as much as possible. This was almost a brainwashing operation on a world scale. All the newspapers, TV programmes, the ordinary advertisements and even the daily speeches were full of the slogans of this illusion. This was then consolidated and enforced through rockets, bombs and cinematic visions of war. The message was directed essentially not towards the peoples of socialist countries that had already taken a lot of steps in restoring capitalism, but towards the peoples continuing the struggle for national and social liberation and towards the countries making "rough" the road of imperialism. These were the revolutionary dynamics of the world. This was the only message: "without compromising with us, with imperialism, you cannot get

a result. You cannot succeed."

Certainly there were also some people in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who were influenced by the "dissolving" in the socialist countries and by the show of power of imperialism. This time the ammunition of the imperialist illusion was dispatched to Asia, Africa and Latin America. Negotiations by guerillas around a table with the ruling classes in El Salvador, in Colombia, in the Philippines became headlines in the newspapers. Interviews with the Tupamaros leaders who turned to parliamentary activity now became popular.

Yes, socialism was dead. The socialist countries were returning to capitalism. Moreover, those who fought for socialism were giving it up and becoming reconciled with the bourgeoisie. There wasn't any sense in fighting and in dying any more!..

The Black Holes In The Clouds of Imperialist Illusion

But what the reality has showed is something different.

As the lies told by imperialism in the course of Gulf war came out; as the people learned the truth about the innocent and poor bird trying to survive in petroleum, and as it came out that what imperialism brought to the socialist countries "of yesterday" was not freedom, was not democracy or comfort; black holes appeared in the clouds of imperialist illusion. Imperialists were giving nothing but taking away even what the people already had.

The lies that the imperialist system couldn't hide for long because of its own way of functioning were the first holes in the illusion. Imperialism had convinced the world with these lies, as it sent 500 thousand soldiers to the Gulf in order to overcome its economic stagnation and to boost its militarised economy again.

The blood flowing as a result of "the seeds of enmity" sowed between people who had lived fraternally until the day before, dispersed the clouds of illusion a bit more. Imperialism which compelled these countries to do everything it wanted and used the UN in the way it wanted, was doing nothing to stop these wars.

The rise in prostitution in all old socialist countries and above all in Russia, the unemployed people who begged on the streets and the falling of East Germany into poverty was the third hole in the illusion.

And finally, red flags appeared in Russia once more. In Rumania, the working people were again on the street, even if it was a reaction to the Government. The old "communists" got astonishing result in the elections. And all these became the biggest hole in the imperialist illusion. Communism that was supposed to be dead and finished, was living again.

Moreover, there were also some who tried right from the beginning to prevent the spreading of the clouds of imperialist illusion and of the winds of defeatism all over the world. They were resisting against imperialism. And there were such countries as Cuba, Korea, Libya, Iraq who refused, for different reasons, becoming simple puppets of the new imperialist world order.

In addition, there were some who possessed, from the beginning, the honourable resistance of Chauchesku under the confused looks of the media. As imperialism destroyed Baghdad, they attacked imperialist targets all over the world. And, of course, there were the masses, who marched shouting "No to imperialist war."

The black holes have become bigger day by day...

The "Media" is Strong, But Not Capable of Everything...

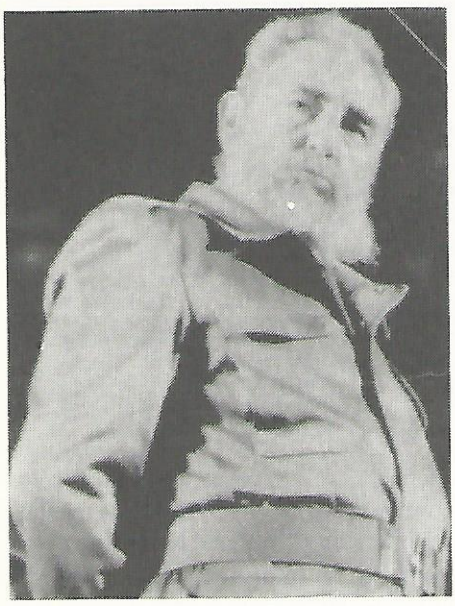
The return from socialism, the giving up of arms, the statues of Lenin smashed, the throwing out of the figures of the "hammer and sickle" from the flags, massacres carried out in front of the world's eyes; these features of the world, this new face has naturally created intimidation and pessimism.

The first area in which intimidation primarily emerged was the world of intellectuals and of the petty-bourgeoisie, as is usual. But these intellectuals were making a major mistake. They were trying to explain everything in terms of the "media", as if to cover up the neo-colonial methods of imperialism, its mentality of making profit and of sharing it, the class structure of bourgeoisie that will resist against socialism very strongly, and the savage character of imperialism. For them everything was the result of the "media". And this had only one meaning in their world..." As long as imperialism holds the monopoly of the media, it is impossible to change the world . In fact, this was just the conclusion which imperialism wanted.

Of course, in regard to the masses, the media was the magician of the imperialist illusion. However, there was an objective basis for this and for the means which imperialism used: The return to capitalism in the socialist countries, the ideological weakening and the betrayals... It is not important how strong and effective the media is, if such a process hadn't taken place in the socialist countries, could the media alone have managed to create this illusion?

Those who presumed the power of imperialism to be absolute saw the imperialist media in the same way. They wrote that it was necessary to have such a strong and effective media to change the existing world. But they were mistaken. Only the reality and the struggle that represents the reality itself and made this reality known to the world public, could exterminate the illusion which was created by the media. And in fact, what happened was also this. Waging war against imperialism worldwide, the protests of the working people of the old socialist countries against the new world order, and their struggle to preserve the socialist achievements played such a role.

The truth is stronger than the media. We must not forget that the lies during the Gulf war, the unemployment and



CASTRO "Instead of being a brothel of USA, we rather sink the ward..."

poverty in Russia and the news which reflect the crisis of imperialist countries also appear in the media.

If You Prefer Capitalism, Be Ready For Unemployment, Homelessness, Hunger

Capitalism first penetrated the socialist countries with the flags of "freedom" and "democracy". Its shop-windows, seen from these countries, were full of "tinsel".

But after a while, the peoples of the socialist countries saw the flags of Coke, Philips, ITT on the reverse of these "democracy" flags. The panes of these shop-windows were "broken into pieces". Yes, there was everything in these shop-windows, but not for everyone.

Wages were rapidly differentiated and the national income has again been distributed in such a way that those who came to power by collaborating with imperialism have increased their share.

The peoples of these countries now had to pay a price to the international monopolistic bourgeoisie as well. One part of their production would be used to establish the imperialist bourgeoisie. In Russia, such foodstuffs as meat and milk whose prices had not changed for 40 years rapidly went up. Inflation of 1000 per cent was a completely new phenomenon for the people of Russia. Inflation in the Ukraine has even reached 3000 per cent. The peoples of Russia have witnessed the cannonade of parliament by Yeltsin, „hero of democracy". Albania was no longer a country in which someone could buy 25 bottles of milk with his daily income. Daily income was today not enough even to buy only one bottle of milk. Unemployment rose to around %80...

In Germany, all the protocol and agreements have remained on paper. The people of East Germany have been left in the grip of hunger and homelessness... The peoples of these countries have also become acquainted with prostitution.

Albania was one of the last socialist countries to collapse. At that time we said the following:

"It will not be so easy to compel a people who lived under socialism for long, even if this socialism was not perfect, to accept capitalism with its disgusting aspects".

This was only a prediction and it went on to say:

"We are not going to need a long time to see the wreck of all misunderstandings about socialism and capitalism that were produced in the consciousness of the masses."

It has indeed not been a long time.

Capitalism has brought dependency to the socialist countries but not the freedom; hunger and unhappiness but not prosperity.

The peoples of the capitalist countries were not happy either. Capitalism was giving its citizens at home, in the United States or in Europe, also the same things and putting into practice the same bitter cure.

Unemployment rises in America to an unbearable point. The USA, in which the crime rate is the highest in world, is in a phase of decadence and of corruption. The number of homeless people, "the people of the pavement", is about 30 million. That is, one person out of ten is unemployed and homeless and therefore on the street, in America.

As usual, the price of economic crisis in Europe is paid by the population. The government carries this out by reducing welfare aid in every budget. The growth rate in Germany is now negative. Gross Domestic Product has decreased, and of course the share of the working people in GDP also became smaller.

The bourgeoisie has nothing else to give to its own people. In this sense, it has nothing to give to the peoples of other countries either. This has been seen in past 3-4 years. The only thing that capitalism brings to the people is more and more exploitation, more and more poverty.

And The People Across The World Resist Against Imperialism...

First of all, the imperialist economy is itself weak. Moreover, the contradictions between imperialists are nowadays increasing. The crisis which has not been overcome since the 1970s causes instability between them. But even looking at only the surface phenomena, we can see that the world is not like the imperialist media shows. The media reflects not what actually happens but what is good for the interests of the imperialist. The aim is always to break the will to fight.

However, imperialism cannot bring the peoples under its yoke in spite of its offence which has intensified since the turn to capitalism in the socialist countries. It cannot stabilize the order which it called the "new world-order". And as long as exploitation and injustice exists, the world will never be "a garden of roses without thorns" for imperialism.

Iraq, despite its reactionary administration and the inconsistency of its petty-bourgeois rule, has provided proof that one can resist imperialism. The people of Iraq had the courage to protest against the USA on the squares of Baghdad even under bombardments. The Iraqi administration made a stand against the conditions of imperialism for a long time by depending on the anti-imperialist feelings of the people of Iraq and of all Arab peoples.

The bombs which exploded in imperialist institutions and demonstrations with thousands, tens of thousands people in several countries during the Gulf War were the expression of the peoples will not to surrender.

The people of Somalia have once more shown that with an armed resistance of the people it is possible to compel imperialism to step back. Who had pre-

sumed that the people of Somalia could manage this?

The people of Palestine have refused the new Middle East order of imperialism, and said "no" to surrender to imperialism.

The slogans of "down with imperialism", "down with the new tsars" are heard in the squares of Moscow. In some of the old socialist countries not the open collaborators of imperialism but the old CP's and the political groups who keep a distance between themselves and imperialism increase their votes. This must also be seen as a passive resistance against imperialism.

The peoples of the world have seen that the new world order is not a "peace order", but the order of imperialist robbery. The agreements signed by the guerillas and governments in Colombia, in El Salvador and in the Philippines have no longer validity. The agreements were full of promises of reform. However, there isn't actually any reform, but a lot of murder of the old guerilla leaders. The agreements with imperialism have brought nothing to the people. Oligarchies have not given up imposing oppression and cruelty on the people because the guerillas have consented to "peace". There is only one way to force imperialism and the oligarchies into stepping back: to resist.

Using the example of Iraq, they have tried to say: "it is no longer possible for any country to resist imperialism with its military force". But Somalia has proved that this is not true.

The Flags of Independence of The Peoples and the Flags of Socialism of the Working People Will Never Fall To The Ground...

In this context it is necessary, in particular, to talk about Cuba. Cuba waved the flag of Socialism with decisiveness from the beginning of the period in which sayings like "Socialism is finished, dead" covered the world. Cuba's resistance has been not only on the basis of being against the new world order, but also to defend socialism. Cuba, just in the backyard of imperialism, has not only become a "boil" for the new world order of imperialism, but also the core of resistance against imperialism. In spite of all the negative conditions generally in the world and of all its difficulties, Cuba has proved that it is possible to resist against imperialism and to sustain Socialism.

The People's War in Peru is going on. The poor peasants of Peru reject the new world order of imperialism. Imperialism has intensified one of its biggest military and physiological offensives on this country in order to exterminate this important core of resistance, fighting to establish the rule of the people, and tried also to use the arrest of the secretary of the PCP, Gouzman, as a means to consolidate the climate that it has managed to produce on a world scale. However, the guerillas of Peru have responded by intensifying their offensive. They continue to fight against imperialism, with their correct points and their mistakes.

The national liberation struggle of the Kurdish people, as a core of war that imperialism could not accommodate in its new order, consolidates the tradition of resistance of the people, it shows that one can resist, one can fight.

In such a period in which "the new world order" of imperialism rains bombs upon the peoples, Korea and Vietnam continue to keep some of their values although they have already taken some steps back; Erithrea is attempting to take power with arms; Libya has the courage more or less to oppose the USA... . All these are examples of the same thing: it is possible to resist and to fight against imperialism.

Various revolutionary patriotic groups all over the world and above all the revolutionary movement go on waging war against imperialism... Cuba, Peru, Somalia, Turkey, Kurdistan and the other individual fires all over the world... Imperialism will never win the victory it is longing for.

The War Will Go On, Until We Crush Imperialism...

Most of the revisionist structures which discovered under the pressure of the counter-revolutionary winds that is was necessary to question Marxism-Leninism and that the working class and the times had changed, have now started to be "repentant sinners" because of the new developments. It is not for nothing that the communist parties, who were under the strong influence of this (reactionary) wind, today, after a few years, say that "it is great happiness to be a Communist".

The Marxist-Leninists in our country have not hesitated and not wavered in the face of the reactionary developments. It is a well known phenomenon that intimidation and pessimism follows theories of disaster". The tendency of an important part of the left to question everything, was also a derivation of this kind of theorizing. The revolutionaries have dealt with the developments cooly, responsibly and decisively in order to prevent intimidation as well as pessimism and to defend the revolution; socialism. They raised up the flag of anti-imperialism without using the pretext of "Saddam is reactionary" as the imperialist attacked Iraq. They defended Chavucheskus who defended socialism against the counter-revolutions plotted by imperialism, without using such a pretext as "they also made some mistakes". They increased the struggle just at such a moment, in spite of everything, and have become the barricade of the revolution against the counter-guerilla-revolutionary winds and the

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illusions of imperialism. They have represented the honour and future of the peoples of Turkey. The revolutionary movement takes its place in the class struggle today with this honour.

It is necessary not to be so complex in the struggle for revolution. There is such a reality as "the oppressor and oppressed people"; and the contradiction between "the revolution and the counter-guerilla" behind the details of life. Just because of this, it is necessary to be simple and clear. It is necessary to have clear and open positions. The way to defend socialism and to develop the revolution passes from here.

There are ideologies because there are classes. Even if the speakers of the ruling classes everyday give hundreds of explanations against this, they cannot change this reality. And just because of this, the class struggle will always exist. The characteristic of being a revolutionary is, today, not to accept or refuse this, but to carry out the necessities of this or not.

The peoples of the world, the oppressed nations, the patriots and revolutionaries continue and will continue to fight. The world will be shaken by a new revolutionary wave. It has no revolutionary meaning to estimate that this will happen in 3 or 5 years. What is important is to see it and to prepare oneself for it.

The new wave, with the experience of centuries; with the experience of the achievements and the mistakes of socialism; with the experience of victories and defeats, will witness the definite victory of the peoples of the world against imperialism... ■

THE IMPERIALIST MAGIC IS DISSOLVED

PEOPLE RESIST, SOCIALISM LIVES

The basis of the solidarity is quite simple: TO FIGHT (*)

The internationalism, which as a result of class struggle occurred, was created and was until today kept alive with the most valuable generosities of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of Europe, Latin America and Asia. The peoples of the world help been witnesses of this reality, that from every language and from every colour, workers at the war, war front for the sake of brotherhood and unity of peoples and socialism. The internationalism occurred as a traditions of oppressed peoples.

The winds of reaction and the collapse of revisionism and in addition to this, the apartheid and split of the socialist system and all of the world and the split up period, which is being lived, have caused that the internationalism, which has a important place at the struggle of oppressed peoples, has been damaged. The thoughts, which damaged the internationalism and whose stems lie in the opportunism politics of revisionist system, and by revisionism taking positions have been since years declared in the name of „with the imperialism with balance and peace. Together living politics. The revisionism who accepts the support of national liberation movements, who lead liberation struggles against imperialism, as an advantage of having a strong factor against imperialism or opposes than with the statement that they increased the state terror and they make it easy for coups, has put the class compromise into programme of socialist movements of the world is that of classes struggle and the compromise tendencies, who have sprit themselves in time and so who reproduced and themselves have found they meaning with Gorbachev at the „big plot". The national and revolutionary movements, who are under the affects of revisionism and experience an ideological emptiness as a result of collapse of revisionism and have been arranged to the right, have given up fighting against the imperialism and they have begun trying to get peace and profit.

Shaking hands with imperialism, to sit with them at the same table and to sign a peace agreement with them are shown as were talent and success, betrayal to the peoples begins to bring praise. It is so, that the opportunism has begun to dominate the total period. While the ideal of internationalism decreases in value and stately and separate organisational profits become more important, a left, who arranged itself to the imperialism, has occurred. This new left has a compromise and surrender as a flag and it seeks , a place for itself at the „new world order". In such a picture, it is unavoidable to form a trustable internationalist line. Forming this trustable line depends on giving a clear answer to the questions of who is really socialist, who not, who is really against imperialism, and who not". It is clear that the criterion of being against the imperialism is to fight (to struggle). The internationalism can be formed only on the basic. Because of this being a Marxist-Leninist, only at speech loses it is importance totally. If it is wanted to set up a new internationalism and unity of friendship, solidarity and struggle with all forces, to struggle at the anti-imperialism basic must be taken as a duty. Because of this, for example as it is impossible to set international solidarity with them, who name themselves Marxist-Leninist, Socialist but are under the control of imperialism, it must be possible to set unity with the forces, who begun in the name of Islam and fight against the imperialism at the basic of being anti-imperialist and fighting. It is possible that with this organisations can not be united at the aims. It is important to be clear and trustfulness. And it must not be forgotten that the place of the unity is the struggle fields. Palestinian Liberation struggle has in this aspects the examples like Hamas, Cihad. Today, the religions hegemony can be the ideological material of resistance against imperialism.

Because of this, we see the place of them, who accepts the Islam as a weapon of innocent peoples, at the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist lines. Unfortunately, they, who say that „Islam is a doctrine and against the unjustness and oppression must be resisted and the Moslems must be by oppressed peoples" make; as it in our Land, at the a lot of parts of the world too; the commerce of religion. It is impossible to catch a common struggle basic with such a organisations and movements who are at speech against the imperialism but in reality are the servants of imperialism. Today it is needed more than anytime to set up trust to self force, more friendship and unity of struggle and international solidarity. We don't have anything to do with them, who betray the socialism and proletariats internationalism. They betray the peoples with aiming a honourless peace and compromise with imperialism. They choose the surrender at the war of death of life between oppressed peoples and imperialism. We have to let a new friendship, solidarity and internationalism wind blow. This wind must be strengthen with our war cries and it must approach poll ports of the world. It is a inalienable duty for the fighting peoples-organisations, among the organisations and movement who armament people's and national liberation struggles, to set up the internationalist unity and solidarity ■

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY OF PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE !

STRUGGLE UNTIL LIBERATION!

(*) A saying by A. CABRAL

THE REVOLUTIONARY RISE in the backyard of the USA

The echos of the actions and the shouts of more than one hundred thousand Mexicanos marshing with the huge posters of Che, are being heared even umpleen kilometres far: in Turkey also.

The peasant revolution of Mexico has become the subject of several novells, stories and films as one of the most bloodiest social struggle in Latin America.

Hundreds of thousands peasants had fought against Frenchmen and their Mexican collaborators, against the dictatorship of Diaz and imperialism of North America for many years under the slogan of „land and freedom". But this greats peasant revolution of Latin America is recorded in history as a betrayed revolution even-though it compelled the ruler classes to accept the landreform.

The first step, as it happened to Sandino in Niaragua, was to kill Zapata, leader of the revolution, by laying in wait for him.

But Zapata was borned once more with the guerilla movement, being started by EZLN (Zapata National Liberation Army) who denounced that they fought for socialism.

The actions of EZLN in the very early days of this year have really had a shock effect that has not stayed within the borders of Mexico. It has been spreaded from Washington to Buenos Aires.

While the USA imperialist declared that they supported the goverment of Mexico against the movement, torpedoing NAFTA as well, the neo-colonialist Chefs of Argentina have already begun to take precations in order to prevent such a possible blow-up in their own country.

The Mexican goverment, panic-stricken, onthe other hand called the EZLN into negotiations. Thus, the „Mexican Miracle" which is shown as a model by the World Bank and IMF to the whole world has suddenly lost credit. Like very other neo-colonialist „miracle" Mexico was also only bubble, only glamour. All what it could give to working people was only more explotation, more cruelty. That's why, the sudden appearance and struggle of Zapata Guerillas was not a suprise for the peoples of world.

It is also known that today all the neo-colonialist countries are pregnant with fierce blow-ups all though the social panorama is shown to be slick.

Mexico has once more proved that the revolutionary struggle, the Revolution and Socialism is inevitable.

The struggle which has been first started in South Mexico, in Chiapas territory where the ancient Mayas lived, is spreading today to the north parts of the country including the capital city. The Zapatists are doing actions also in Mexico-City and writing to the citywalls „we have come here too". The echos of these actions and the shouts of more than one hundred thousand Mexicanos marshing with the huge posters of Che, are being heared even umpleen kilometres far: in Turkey also. The Zapatists are confirming the one important lesson that the history of revolutionary struggles had tought to the revolutionaries all over the world: Internationalism.

Yes! The Zapatists are showing the best example of international solidarity. They are rising the struggle in their own country; they are hitting out against oligarchy and imperialism. They give morale to the other peoples who fight for freedom and reject the „New World Order" which is produced as a valve against the revolutions of peoples.

EZLN and the working people of Mexico have allready shown the boldness to fight for socialism against the greatest imperialist power which is just near to them and the decisiveness to struggle for a better world, for ideals in middle America. They have shown that the power lays in being convinced, in heart; but not in cannons, in riffles. They have strengthed our decisiveness to shake the world once more but this time from Turkey ■

RACISM AND STATE REPRESSION

Europa

In the last years, the xenophobia, racism and the neo-nazi phenomenon has reached to a new climax. Though there have been a lot of prohibitions, in 1993 the number of the persons; who got the membership of the fascist parties, nazi organisations and their military sub organisations increased. Again in this period of time the United Germany became the first topic, when the word „racist state terror" was heart. The fascist attacks and murders, which were seen in cities like Rostock, Mölln and Sollingen and were realized with the participation of a part of German citizens, have got their places in the memories as the symbols of the new massacres of the 1992 and 1993.

Germany hasn't been the only land, which practised the racism and the state repression against the foreigners. All imperialist Europan states have been a general scene, on which the racism and state terror aginst the foreigners got together. France, England, Netherlands, Austria have became such a lands, in which particularly against the Turks and Kurds with special police teams have been fought. And today to express the events only with the classical racism danger means to lose the clear reasons of the problem. The obvious reason is that: The leadership of this violence are the European states and their police organisations and the first and the main target of this attacks are the revolutionaries who come from the new-colony lands.

In cities of Germany, Netherlands, France, England, Austria everyday the homes, solidarity centres are raided. Imperialism doesn't try only to destroy the European stems of the liberation struggles of the new-colony lands, at the same time it sets the European democracy in danger too. Other needed parts of the state terror are realized by the nazi organisations. The „nazi terror" finds day by day a greater attack environment.

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THE FASCISM COMES FROM THE CENTER OF THE SOCIETY

The number of the fascist and racist violence attacks has been twice as much as it had been 1 year before. After the attack in Sollingen, which caused the death of 5 Turkish women and girls, there was again a big increase of the number of fascist attacks. If we should demonstrate it with numbers: As the number of the attacks in May were 400, in the June more then 1300 such attacks were realized. That means, everyday there were more then 40 attacks. The German Police organisation has declared that the number of racist-fascist attacks, which was 1443 at the first half of 1992, increased to 3365 at the some period of 1993. Fascist tendencies doesn't come from the marginal groups of the society, which consist from the marginal youth groups, as the bourgeois commentators say, but it comes from the centre of the society. It doesn't change this reality that these attacks were mostly made by such a youth groups. The importance of the role, which the fascists play, is in it, that it makes it possible that the capitalist minority can realize its politic programs and they can create support among the people. This situation can be obviously seen at the relation, which has been set between the discussions about the political refugee rights and the attacks of the Neo-Nazi militants against the political refugees and other foreigners. Hoyerswerda, which is a town of Saksonya state of Germany, in the September of 1991 became a term to express the increasing racist terror wave. Because, first here, at the Hoyerswerda, an attack, which hundreds of fascists have made against a camp, which was for the African and Vietnamese workers and took a few days, was applauded by the local German people. The CDU/CSU, FDP and SPD have already had the same idea that the causes of racist attack were the false of the foreigner policy. The government made the emigration right the only cause of the events and used Hoyerswerda as a argumentation to cancel this right. Approximately 1 year later. This time Rostock became a scene for the reality that the same racist terror were supported by a part of German citizens with applauses. After Rostock the attacks have followed each other. At the 16-17 November of 1992 the Party Congress of SPD have accepted the suggestion to cancel the asylum right. After one week, at the 23 of November in Mölln, that attack was realized which caused death of 3 Turkish women and girls. In Bonn, on 5 December the government and SPD reached to a compromise for the basic decisions of new ordination which called.. Asylum Compromise. Because of the racist politic of German government and SPD the fascist could feel themselves as official accepted. It can't be only by accident that following this events, at the end of the May, also 4 days after the acceptance of new laws, which re-ordinated the asylum right, in Sollingen the fatal attack was realized.

In European Countries The Fascist Propaganda And Organisations increase Day By Day

Really, there is a very strong relation between the open-fascism, which occurs as fascist organisations and official politics of imperialist countries. This situation can be seen not only in Germany, in all West-Europe too. The strong relation between the propaganda of fascist organisations and official state politic causes that, for this period of the time, the fascist organisations occur as the most truly representatives of politic which was produced by the bourgeoise parties (like CDU/CSU, FDP, SPD). The greatest example for the results of such a relation is the Italian local elections of December, in which the fascists reached a great vote increase. It was so extreme that fascist MSI party got more then the %30 of the votes in big cities like Rome and Neapel. But, not only in Italy, in other European countries too, the sympathy for the fascist propaganda and organisations increases day by day. The increase of terror actions of fascist organisations and the acceptance of fascist parties and organisations by the society is a part of time section of becoming fascist for a society.

The Military Collaboration With the Fascist Dictators Of 3 World Lands... Germany protects it's third place at the trade of war equipment deliberately.

Another part of the problem, which mostly can't be seen by the a lot of anti-fascists and anti-racists is the reality that the fascist governments of new-colonized countries are economical, political and specially military supported. Imperialism tries to set such a governments to the dependent lands at it tries to make them stronger with his best and so it aims to protect it's strategic profits. Turkey is specially, because of the profits of the imperialism at the middle - east and at the Republics of ex Soviet Union for imperialism very important. But to keep the governments of such a countries like Turkey strong, imperialist forces, primarily Germany must support this countries economically and military. The German State, which always speaks about human rights; destroy the human rights brutally in Kurdistan and Turkey with its billion of economic aid to Turkey which is a member of NATO. The Germans send military vehicles and tanks to Turkey too. And so fascism are exported from imperialist lands to the new-colony lands. The people in Turkey and Kurdistan pay the price of protection of strategic profits of imperialist in middle east and ex-soviet republics through Turkey with tortures and massacres.

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The stems of political Repression in Germany are in deeps.

Another phenomenon about the exportation of fascism to the new colonialized countries is that the imperialist lands themselves lead a repression politic against the revolutionaries and the democrats, who live in this lands specially the repression, which was located against the revolutionary movements and organisations in Germany has a long his-

tory and a strong tradition. As we seek the history of repression against the democrats and revolutionaries in Germany we shouldn't think only about the period between 1933 and 1945, in which the open obviously fascist government had been set and later had been destroyed. The politic repression have had a important activity in „Democratic Germany" of past - war period. After the anti fascist knowledge, which have got a dominance in society went back in cold war atmosphere, it was again for Germany, who was again strong, possible with all of vehicles against the internal enemies to attack. The „Free German Youth Organisation" (FDJ) had become the first victim of this reaction. FDJ was banned in 1951 by the German Government. Then, after 11 years of prohibition the Communist Party was at 1955 again banned. A new repression wave against leftist people was following this prohibition. The political courts have set 125.000 investigations mostly against communists from 1959 until the mid of 1960's. Thousands of communists, most of them for years , have been put in jails to stay there. At the 1970's the state created its own vehicles to destroy its militant opposition. The state created first special laws like the 129 and SGB of 1976's and to be use it in practise constructed the world wide known terror - teams (GSG9) to fight against the Red Army Fraction (RAF). At 1977 in Stammheim the State showed that, it sees every vehicle justified to fight against opposition. The German state proved it with killing the member of the Red Army Fraction Wolfgang Grams in Bad Kleinen (without investigation, justice on the street).

The Prohibitions To Foreigner Organisations Which Have Been Set Though Collaboration With NATO Member Turkey

But Germany doesn't have only fighting against the insider opposition in it's register. The Germany always has been an important centre at the fight against the foreign revolutionaries of the „General Union of Palestinian Workers" (GUPS) and the 1983 the Revolutionary Left (Devrimci Sol). The German state takes some measures in last months against the intellectuals, democrats and revolutionaries from Turkey and Kurdistan and against organisations who shows and tells the situation there to the public and who organizes the solidarity between fighting peoples. The list of the attacks is very long. The police raids of December 1992 and October 1993 to the Information Center for free peoples are only examples. Other police raids actions against the revolutionaries of Turkey in Duisburg and some other German cities have followed these. The state repression against foreign organisations has reached a new point with the prohibition of PKK and with the closing of 36 Kurd Institutions in December 1993. The cause of this new repression was the visit of Prime Minister of Turkey Tansu Ciller to Germany in the summer of 1993. At this visit, it has been achieved to a compromises for collaboration to fight against the intellectuals and revolutionaries of Turk and Kurd organisations. The aim of the dominants was that through punishing the opposition in Europe and specially in Germany to support the special war of Turkish Republic State in Turkey and Kurdistan. But is shouldn't be thought that these actions are marginalized only with Germany. Such a attacks were realized in lands like France, Netherlands, England and other European countries. For example in December 1993 in Netherlands some homes have been sought by the policeman and 5 revolutioners from Turkey have been arrested, because they had gathered spending for Revolutinary Left (Devrimci Sol). At the some time the police organisation of Netherlands wanted the Turkish merchants to spy against revolutionary organisations. The policemen have brought a Turk, who didn't accept to work as a spy, to a desert place and there they have beaten him brutally and let him there injured. At the moment there are raids against the homes and associations too. Because of this violence a woman lost her child. In France the policeman set the revolutioners on the street and beat them. For a few days, the door of the homes and clubs have been crushed and raided. The people have been pulled on the streets as they were naked. It is a general punishing method to let people 6 months or 1 year wait in jails without process. A lot of people are in this situation and they are in jails. In England and Australia, this method goes on.

The Fight Against The Internal Enemy With Spying Method

The European countries together have taken this reaction specially against the intellectuals, revolutionaries of Turkey since a long time. These states created the needed vehicles to organize a European wide repression for years with „TREVI" or with „Schengener Agreement". The tries of states of European Union to make a united insider security politic have begun to get a form in the mids of 1970's. In 1976 the TREVI (Also Terrorism-radicalism-international violence-Terrorism, Radicalism, Eztremisme et violence International) was established with the aim to be a common strategy of European Union states against „internal enemy". And this collaboration was, since its begin, under the name of „internal security", against the foreign revolutionary organisations. In Europe the racist and organized fascist and state work together. And the democracy of the west doesn't have any sorry to be using the fascist methods ■

Peoples will acquire the peace

AN ARDOUR FOR IMPERIALISM

Middle East

While imperialism wants to give the middle east a totally new outlook within the „New World Order", the revolutionary forces must observe this process closely. Otherwise they will be demned to suffocate from the arising dangers and to fall into passivity.

The middle east is a source of life for imperialism. On one hand the middle east maintains it's strategic importance for imperialism, on the other hand it is a home for resistance and insurrection against imperialism. The struggle between imperialism and the suppressed people of the middle east continues with it's full strength although it steps back from time to time.

The collapse of the socialistic bloc, the growing of reactionary thinking, the lacking will and determination of the revolutionaries and patriots in this region, who push this process and continue to resist, strengthened imperialism and Zionism in this region. Particularly the growing struggle in Palestine, Turkey and Kurdistan is a menace for the imperialist hegemony.

When imperialism is not able to defeat the revolutionary forces, it's aggression increases in from of blockades and psychological warfare, which is mostly based on demagogy and lies in the media. It is part of this method, to force the leadership of revolutionary movements to surrender and to strengthen the internal contradictions.

The agreement between Arafat and Rabin, between one fraction of the PLO and the Zionist state of Israel, which has been shedding Palestinian blood for decades, was followed by patriotic reactions of the people of Palestine. Nearly all patriotic forces rejected this betrayal. The continued their struggle even more forcefully. This agreement, which is called „the betrayal of 13th September", is part of the surrounding policy of imperialism in this region. The positive attitude of the Syrian president Assad at his Geneva meeting with Clinton strengthened the Palestinian resistance. The Intifada is getting stronger, the struggle of the Palestinians for independence and the right of self-determination, against imperialism and Zionism is pushed forward.

The petty-bourgeois dictatorships in this region do not practice a consequent anti-imperialist policy. They cause difficulties for the imperialists, but they do not actually cross their shows clearly this tendency. This actual surrendering and way ring on the level of the leadership has however no correspondence at the basis. In other words, the anti-imperialist consciousness of the people in the middle east is still strong, and imperialism knows this. Therefore imperialism wants to strengthen the economic and military collaborating with the puppet government and he is looking for new allies in this process.

In the Arabic countries there is a hate for imperialism, who has been massacring the people of this region for decades by the Israelis. Imperialism is aware of it and especially because of this he is looking for new allies in the region. He is now concentrating an essential part of his energy on this. Another reason it's being

a puppet of imperialism.

As an Islamic country, Turkey collaborates concealed with imperialism and Zionism. Following the „Gaza-Jericho agreement" Turkey has unmasked itself and started an open economic and military collaborating with Israel. This is an essential development in this region, which has to be analysed exactly. Turkey's situation is however not rosy, it is in a major economic crisis, which leads to a deepening of class contradictions to a point that is reacted in only a few countries of the world. In Turkey wages an open civil war and the social and national liberation struggle of the working population comes to a head. About %40 of the budget are spent on military purposes and therefore Turkey's oligarchy has neither economic nor military power to support the imperialists blockade in the middle east. Turkey, where a civil war is waging, is on the road to it's downfall. The effects of the continuing national crisis have deepened and Turkey has nothing to offer to the people but terror. The balance of the war against the people has reached a dreadful dimension. Each day 20 people are murdered on an average. The villages and cities are bombed and levelled to the ground.

The situation of the people of Palestine has reacted a critical point. The decision of the liberation organizations to continue the struggle has definitely a chance to cross the plans of the USA and Israel. But the danger which is waiting are the plans of the USA and Israel, the blow with which they want to strike those to reject their plans and support the liberation organizations. In other words, the USA and Zionist Israel want to start a „civil war" in Palestine, as they were not able to put down the people of Palestine by their military policy. The demagogy of autonomy and the financial aid campaigns are meant to lead to a division of the Palestinian people. It is known that the USA want to disarm this region, they want to disarm the Golan also to establish a military base of their own, when Israel withdraws it's troops. The imperialist peace for the middle east means: disarmament of the people, the establishment of regional NATO's, economic blockade to enforce surrender and military aggression. By bombing Iraq and blockade Libya, the USA wanted to deliver a message to the Arabic countries.

The development in the middle east follows mainly the interests of the imperialists. The search for the solution is put through by force. Short-term this is useful for the USA, but long-term. The USA strengthen a dynamic that will drive themselves out of this region. The USA are aware of this and therefore they try to put the countries under pressure by manifold blockades.

The solution for the people of the middle east is to follow a radical and continuous course in the struggle against the imperialists. Only imperialism takes advantage of internal contradictions and hatred. When the internal contradictions deepen, chaos is the consequence. While thousands of Arabic People are bombed by the USA and their Western allies people are just watching. But the duty is to transform the whole Arabic term Tory into a military position against imperialism and Zionism. We must transform the regions into an ardour for imperialism.

We must cross the plots and make the middle east to a Vietnam for imperialism! ■

Palestine will not be silent...

TO OUR PEOPLE!
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD!

Israeli Zionism has again committed a carney against the people of Palestine. On the 25th of February, the Zionist have committed another massacre. They have murdered more than 60 defenceless and unarmed Palestinians.

We are in painful sorrow. Our murdered Palestinian brother and sisters are our matryrs. They died at the liberation struggle of people against imperialist, exploiters and oppressor's in all parts of the world.

We are filled with anger. This massacre is another one in countless crimes against humanity committed by imperialist and Zionist. There will be no excuse that is able to cool the people's anger against occupants and mass murderers.

The real murderers are those who can not stop the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. Those who force the Palestinian people to surrender with a false peace agreement. The culprits are the imperialist, Zionists and traitors who try to stop the Palestinian liberation people in the back. They did not succeed in stopping the Palestinian liberation struggle by calling the betrayal „peace".

Neither by violence nor by lies could they bring the Palestinian people to give up their aim to establish an independent and democratic Palestine. „Intifada" and Palestinian resistance continue to build the future of Palestine. Imperialist and Zionist, who have realized that the Palestinians will not surrender, have panicked. The imperialist plot failed and violence is on the stage again.

Imperialist, Zionist, collaborators, oligarchies are helpless, massacre are the only weapon against the people in Turkey, Kurdistan, Palestine, Peru, Philippines, in all parts of the world. The tyrant's hand that bombs the villages in Turkey and Kurdistan, that shoots the revolutionaries and anti-fascist in the streets, that repress the demonstrations with blood is the same hand that shoots our Palestinian brothers and sisters.

This is the hand of imperialism who is the enemy of people, freedom and humanity.

We will get rid of this hand that tries to get a hold on our native country, our land, our blood.

The price is our fight. The honour are our martyres. The victory will be our liberation.

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM!

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM!

PALESTINIAN MARTYRES ARE OUR MARTYRES!

OUR MARTYRES ARE OUR HONOUR! ■

"LONG LIVE INTERNATIONALISM"

The building of "unity of Arabs" in Bonn was occupied

The declaration of Devrimci Sol Güçler which protests the massacre of more than 60 people in El-Halil by Zionist from Israel and dated 25th of February was translated into 3 language and delivered all over the European Countries. Associations for Popular Culture reacted the massacre strongly. Banners on which written the protest words against massacre in Turkish, German and Dutch languages and flags of Palestine were hung to the walls of associations in England, Austria, France and Holland.

GERMANY

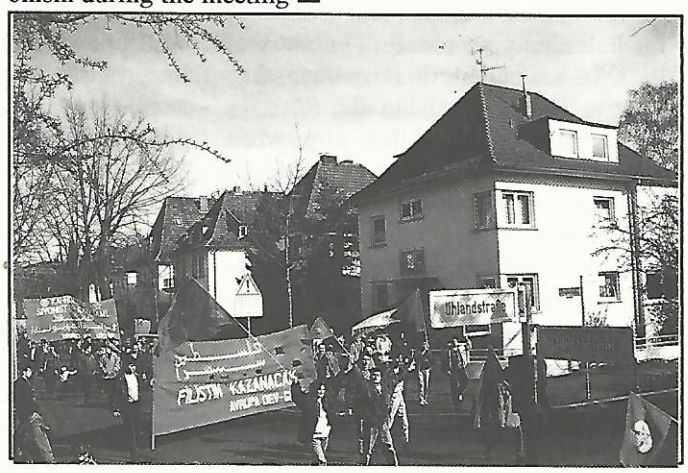
The building of the „Unity of Arabs" in Bonn was occupied by Devrimci Sol Güçler, supporters of Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) in order to protest to Zionist massacre. Approximately 70 people from different ages participated the occupation. The banners in Arabic and German on which written „Down with Zionist massacre, Palestine will win, Palestine will not be the rose garden of Imperialism without thorns" were hung to the walls. Rooms were hung with banners and flags of Palestine and Devrimci Sol.

Demonstrators came together in front of the building, holding and waving the flags and banners of Devrimci Sol and Palestine and shouting slogans of „Down with the Zionist Massacre, Fighting Palestine Will Win, Long Live Palestine, Long Live International Solidarity." The large number of declaration written in German-Turkish language and prepared by the European Representative of Devrimci Sol were delivered during demonstration.

On 5th march, there had been organized a March to protest the massacre of El-Halil by Devrimci Sol Güçler and supporters of DFLP and PFLP participating more than 300 people from every age. Masses shouted the slogans of „All people! Let us Unite, Let us Fight, Fighting Palestine will win, Down with Zionist massacre." Many banners written in Arabic, Turkish, German were held by participants. Flags of Devrimci Sol and Palestine waved during the meeting.

HOLLAND

In Amsterdam, Zionist massacre was cursed by crowds of people in meeting on 28th February organized by a committee which consisted of Palestinians and Devrimci Sol Güçler. Banners on which written „Palestinians will win; No to Zionism; Yes to Palestine, Long live the Palestine, Long live the „Intifada", Revolution until victory" were held by demonstrators. Participants shouted the slogans and made a ceremony for the martyres of Palestine. Besides that, Devrimci Sol Güçler shouted the slogans which emphasized the importance of the unity of struggle against Imperialism, fascism, racism and Zionism during the meeting ■



Our people's war will be taken shape in accordance with

UNITED REVOLUTIONARY WAR

It's obvious that there will be some differences between our people's war and the people's war in such countries as China and Vietnam. One of these differences is the principle of United Revolutionary War.

It has been often emphasized in different issues of Devrimci Sol that our country's people's war will pass through both rural, urban and all other types of struggle dialectically.

The countrysides was the fundamental battlefield in the popular wars of semi-colonized and semi-feudal countries such as China of Vietnam. The struggle in urban areas played a supportive role. This was the result of the economic, social and political conditions of semi-colonized and semi-feudal countries during the Second Crisis of Imperialism.

Imperialism occupied these countries openly. The determining feature of this occupation is the military control by Imperialists in the centres of the big cities and communication and transport centres. Besides, Imperialists fully controlled the cities but were not able to do this in the countryside.

Feudal relations were the determining factor of the socioeconomic structure. Peasants were exploited by landlords as slaves and their rebellions were constantly on the agenda.

Peasants constituted the basic potential of revolution because the proletariat could not create a big force neither quantitatively nor qualitatively. The proletariat was very weak.

Thus, the fundamental battlefield is countryside in semi-feudal and semi-colonized countries. Only peasants could be successful and they were the basic class in the revolution due to these domestic conditions.

Nowadays neo-colonies have different conditions and it's useless to compare them because the age of the Third Crisis of Imperialism has created different relation and contradictions in accordance with such developments.

We cannot ignore the present situation and it is necessary to see the economical, social and political changes that have taken place in our country.

Feudal relations in the countryside have largely broken down and the oligarchy have full control in the countryside. Powers of oppression and all the establishments of the oligarchy have been formed in these areas.

-Feudal exploitation has lost its influence in main and majority of the population in countryside. These relations still continue their existence only as a leftovers.

-The peasantry in the countryside is petty-bourgeois and no rebellions have taken place.

On the other hand,

-The dominant mode of production is capitalist. Capitalism did not find the internal dynamics necessary for its development. For that reason, it was implemented from above.

-Capitalism is based on small and medium scale industry created in collaboration with Imperialism and it is fully dependent. This has created the proletariat.

-Rural - urban migration has gained momentum over the years.

It would be great mistake to regard the development of capitalism in the neo-colonies independently from Imperialism.

The basic forces, basic fields, the type of struggle and the development of Capitalist relations will determine the character of our revolution as being different from the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries.. Nowadays, cities have an important role in the Revolutionary Struggle and have gained weight. The theory of the "Strategy of Politicised Military War" has taken shape in line with this analysis of our country. And it was formed in relation with the United Revolutionary War.

But this must not mean that the real battle field will be the cities.

Cities are the basic battlefield in the country which has been developed with their own internal dynamic, which have a qualitatively and quantitatively strong proletariat and are not occupied by the Imperialists. The Great October Revolution is a good example. In 1917, Soviet Proletariat came to power by rising up in the cities and this is an example of a strategy of revolution which regard sees the cities as the basic field in the revolutionary struggle.

Our country is a neo-colonized country. For that reason, our people's war's basic battlefield is the countryside. But the relation between the rural and urban struggles must be understood dialectically. It is of great importance determine our route in dialectical way. But, it doesn't mean that our analysis and ideas will be patterned on the China or Vietnam. Every country has its own development, differences and route.

In todays neo-colonies, many Revolutionary Movements take note of the importance of cities. Nicaragua is one example. One of the leaders of Nicaragua, Humberto ORTEGA, was emphasizing the importance of cities in saying:

"Our experiences proved that it's necessary and possible to combine the different forms of rural and urban struggle."

These words justify the principle of "United Revolutionary War".

In accordance with the principle of United Revolutionary War, the basic type of struggle will be based on Armed Struggle in cities. ("Armed Propaganda" at the stage of vanguard struggle) The other types of struggle will be based upon the armed struggle. (The mass movement, political, peaceful movements, economical, academic-democratic movements etc.)

There will be no liberated areas at the beginning of the popular war

At the age of Second Crisis of Imperialism, there were several "liberated areas" from the beginning of the popular war. Because, these wars were based on the peasants rebellion against the Imperialist occupation, semi-feudal structure and oppression. Revolutionary organisations had a duty to expand these liberated areas and to create a revolutionary power in these areas. These liberated areas were being called "Red Base" or "Red Political Power" by the great leader "Mao" . These expressions were used to express the importance of liberated areas in the Chinese Popular War.

Liberated areas were the political and military centres in which were formed a new revolutionary administration in place of the rule of feudals and Imperialist occupation forces. These bases were the embryo of the popular power and of the popular army.

In our country, there will be no liberated areas at the beginning of the popular war. But, at the following stages of the war, liberated areas will be formed. Liberated areas will be formed at the stage when a Regular Army is formed by the Revolutionary Party. Liberated areas will be fully under the control of revolutionaries and people's living standards, social, political and economic life will be reformed by common organisations. It will be on the agenda in our country when we have a political and military power that can shake the country.

The basic and leading classes of the popular war

One of the most important tasks of a strategy is to organize the classes and sections of society in accordance with their role in the popular war. Firstly, we must determine the motive forces (the basic and the leading classes).

Our Revolution's motive forces are working class, the peasantry and petty-bourgeoisie. Our Revolution will be based upon these classes and sections.

The most revolutionary class of

our age, the Proletariat, is the leading force of the popular war. And the proletarian party will play a leading role ideologically and politically. The proletarian party will orient the oppressed classes and sections of our people and will direct the struggle for classless society. But some who have followed different routes blindly, argue that the Proletarian Party must be made up of a majority of Proletarians. They also argue that the leading role of the proletariat must mean a Soviet type uprising.

Mahir Cayan, leader of THKP/C (Peoples Liberation Party/Front of Turkey) formulated Turkey's revolutionary strategy in 1969-70. "Our Revolution will be anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist. In the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic revolution the vanguard class is the proletariat, ideologically. We have come to this conclusion after analysing the country in economic, political and social aspects."

Today, after 20 years struggle of THKP/C's ideas which are based on policy of leading role of the proletariat, everything is clear. It's a useless effort to discuss how the proletariat will have a role in the path of revolution. There is no difference between the ideas of "Our proletariat is the ideological vanguard of popular war." and "The proletariat is leading force."

Our popular war will take a long time and its motive and basic forces will be the working class, the peasantry and petty-bourgeoisie. Peasantry will join the revolutionary ranks massively. The peasantry includes all peasants except the feu-

dal landlords, big landowners, profiteers and merchants. The proletariat and the petty- bourgeoisie are the motive forces of revolution especially in cities.

The stages of the popular war

The first stage of our popular war is the vanguard struggle. The Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions are classical examples of how the vanguard struggle will take shape. And they have been victorious. But, will there be any differences between these countries and ours?

"The tactics naturally change in accordance with the level of the productive forces, the districtive, traditional, historic differences. These differences determine the qualities of different stage of a revolutionary strategy of a country" (Mahir Cayan)

This cannot be interpreted mechanically. There may be some differences in our revolutionary path. When we say that "the vanguard struggle is the first stage of our popular war" it does not mean that it will come to an end and the next stage will start (regular armies). This is mechanical thinking. There will naturally be some secondary stages between the main stages, due to the class struggle.

In the stage of Vanguard Struggle, revolutionaries attempt to organize the masses in order to prepare them to fight. It's impossible to determine how long this will take.

The stage of Vanguard Struggle is the period of Armed Propaganda. When the Armed Propaganda becomes secondary, then the stage of Vanguard Struggle will come to its end.

In 1971, Mahir Cayan formulated the tactical stages of Vanguard Struggle thus:

1st stage; Forming the Urban Guerilla movement.

2nd stage; Developing the Urban Guerilla movement,

Forming the Rural Guerilla and shows of strength.

In these two stages, psychological warfare will play a strong part.

3rd stage; Spreading the Urban Guerilla over the country.

Improving the Rural Guerilla.

4th stage; Spreading the Rural Guerilla over the country.

These explanations are the result of the conditions of 1971 and are not absolute. The conditions after the period of March 12, and between 1974-1980 proved that all these are not valid and acceptable for every condition.

We can not be dogmatic in matters of struggle. Despite claims that ideas that are true without taking account of social processes or the level of struggle against imperialism and oligarchy, Devrimci Sol insisted on organizing the people and making them fight against fascist terror and fascist movement. It was the first task to develop the struggle and organization in the cities against fascism. Because, people in cities were joining the Revolutionary Struggle in large numbers. And this power would spread over the countryside. Because, the struggle in cities was being influential. Devrimci Sol has no idea of limiting the struggle to the cities. But, because of the negative developments, it was not able to organize the rural activity as well.

The ideas of Devrimci Sol were supported by evidence in the following years. Rural Guerilla had a crucial mission in order to accomplish our task.

All these were expressed several months before the fascist junta of 12th September 1980. The organizing of Rural Guerilla activity had been on the agenda of Devrimci Sol since it had been established. They stayed close to their revolutionary rules and aims. They were in the forefront of the struggle but because of negative developments and barbarous oppression of the terrorist regime prevented the practical work. Thousands of revolutionaries were murdered and imprisoned.

After the junta, Devrimci Sol analysed the period once more and stated the following;

"Under fascist terrorizes conditions, it is clear that the state will go on with its terror. For today, there is no task more important than organizing the armed struggle in the countryside and cities".

It is impossible to answer the questions in detail how and in which forms the popular army will be organized and what its route and tactics will be. But, we can understand its general properties.

The popular army will be formed including all guerilla units and the guerilla army in cities and the countryside.

The popular army will organize the uninterrupted armed struggle in the cities and countryside and through these activities, the ruling political power will gradually weaken and the crisis will deepen. The oligarchy will be thrown in at the deep end. This will be period of people joining Revolutionary ranks in crowds.

This is the period of establishing the Popular Army in place of the Guerilla Army.

Revolutionary Popular Power will be formed in different areas and this powers will spread and become stronger. The popular army will prepared to final attack. It is of great importance to form a strong coordination and contact between cities and the countryside in this period. It is not possible to say how we will come to the power (by general strike, by rebellion etc.). But, the Revolutionary Movement will be ready in every condition for the final attack to political power in countryside and cities by its armed forces and leaders.

The organisational principle of our popular war is the unity of political and military leadership

In all the colonized and semi-feudal countries occupied by the imperialists, the party must have military organization from the beginning. There is no way for liberation but popular war against imperialist occupation. The party which plays the leading role in popular war should have military nature. For example, in China Communist party played a leading role in the Popular War. The war was directed by the strategy and tactics determined by the Central Committee. They came to power by means of the popular army which was fully under control of political commissars.

At the age of Third Crisis of Imperialism, all these are valid for the neocolonies, but there are same differences in the stages of the popular war. These differences were formulated and called the Principle of the Unity of Political and Military Leadership, by Mahir Cayan.

That is, the party will actually direct the armed struggle from the beginning and will have no other army organisation, unlike the example of the Chinese Popular War. In other words, the headquarters of the war will be the party organization. This is the organizational principle of Strategy of Politicized Military War, because, military actions are the means of political propaganda and are the essential elements of political activity of party.

Through force of circumstances the party and its secondary organization have to be organized including political and military aspects.

Developments in the victorious countries and the experiences of Revolutionary Leadership validate this theory. We can say that it is valid for all neocolonized countries. For example, the leader of Guinea Revolution, Amilcar Cabral says:

"The political and military leadership of struggle is together. We are political persons and our political organization direct the struggle in the political, administrative, technical and military fields. The political bureau directs the armed struggle and life in liberated areas. The political bureau consists of members who have the quality to command and it is the Council of War."

The leaders of Sandinist Front in Nicaragua:

"We are the party who organize the organizers. That is, we attempt to create a mass front. We are a party including political and military cadres,"

The first authority of the Central Committee of FPL (People Liberation Forces) in El Salvador, Salvador Cayetono CARPIO; "This expression (the politic-military organization) never ignores the route of the party. On the contrary, the mass struggle and armed struggle, both of them should be directed and led by the same organization."

This universal principle has been taken up seriously by Devrimci Sol like the other organisations which fight for liberation.

Devrimci Sol has considered the party in all its aspect and has never ignored its political aspects. By analysing the conditions of our country, Devrimci Sol determined that the main determinant of success will be the leadership under the perspective of PASS (The Strategy of Politicized Military War). Military actions must be under the control of political organisation.

Devrimci Sol is not a party but an organization in the period of becoming a party

Devrimci Sol is not a party. It's an organization which aims to become a party. Naturally, it's not enough to come together and to fight together for the same aims.

Nowadays, there are many parties which claim that they are communist and Marxist-Leninist. But according to members of Devrimci Sol, none of them have an ability organization and strategy to fulfil their tasks for our oppressed people. They can not be victorious against imperialism and the oligarchy. Many of them imitate foreign organisation's thoughts, are collaborationist and petty-bourgeois intellectual organizations.

Devrimci Sol aims at forming a Marxist-Leninist party including those who have accepted the strategy of PASS in accordance with the historical and social characteristics of our people, who aim at leading the struggle of people in every condition. Our party will consist of revolutionaries who are highly skilled and experienced and take up seriously the universal thoughts of Leninism. This type of party will take shape in the practical work of class struggle. The Leninist party as a vanguard of the oppressed peoples should include cadres steeled during years of class struggle. This is the period of becoming a party. This process is also one of organising voluntarily, gathering under the same ideology.

What kind of party?

Our party will look like neither a bourgeois party nor a petty-bourgeoisie left party. As a result of the process of becoming a party, we should have a strong ideological structure. This is of great importance.

The party which Devrimci Sol aims is the Marxist-Leninist Party. This party will fight against imperialist occupation and oligarchic dictatorship for the liberation of our oppressed and exploited people.

1- The Party will be Vanguard Platoon of our people.

Our party will be the ideological and political vanguard organization of our people. What does this mean?

It means that our party will equip itself with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, will comment the political reality of our country in the accordance with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and will struggle against the ideology off the right.

It means that our party will bring the people to a standard of behaviour, thought by practice and education in the form of Marxism-Leninism against imperialism and oligarchy.

It means that our party explain the political reality in our country to people.

It means that our party will be political leader and the vanguard platoon of our people in the class struggle. Our party will direct the armed struggle and also will take action against imperialism and the oligarchy with the intention of gaining economic-democratic right.

It means that our party will consist of different organizations which are illegal, semi-legal and legal. But, the illegal branch will be the essential part of our party.

This party will be made up of professional revolutionaries. We will not take into account the class origin of our members.

The essential strategy of our party

will be PASS: It will form the different types of organisation in countryside and cities. Armed propaganda is the basic type of our struggle. The other types (economic, academic or democratic struggle) depend on the armed struggle.

Our party will form a "Front Organization" to make people from all sections of society join an organization who want to fight against imperialism and oligarchy. Because of our country's historical, social, political and economic properties, the front will in the beginning be the front of Fighting Forces.

In short our party will organize and orient the struggle (armed-armless, political, economic, ideological) of our oppressed peoples in every field.

2- There will be strong centralism in the work of the party

Our party will work according to the principle of Democratic Centralism. But, because of the imperialist occupation and the oppression and terror of the oligarchy, work will generally be centralized. In a Leninist party which works illegally steeled discipline is necessary. Our party will be a semi-military nature.

In future stages of the war democracy will be applied to the full in the liberated areas.

3- Factions will not be permitted in our party organisation.

In a party equipped with the ideology of the proletariat, there must be a richness of opinions. Every subject should be discussed freely. There must be a mechanism for transferring the ideas from one to another. And criticism and self-criticism are essential. But, if the principle of criticism and selfcriticism begin to prevent revolutionary actions, if it begins to be harmful for the unity of the party and if it creates the tendencies of organizing separately, then, beyond doubt, it is not be acceptable and it will be restricted. If not there would be conflict among members and the party would be dominated by small faction of intellectuals.

One of the most important task of party is to struggle against the remains of bourgeois ideology, with ideological methods. It's impossible to destroy the remains of relations of private property and its cultural values in a short period of time.. It will naturally take a long time to change the habits of people.

A faction means a separate will and a separate organisation attached to this will within the ranks of a party. Such a party could not organize and orient the struggle of the proletariat against the exploiting minority. There would be great conflicts and quarrels between the ideology of proletariat and bourgeoisie in such a party's ranks.

As the leader and fighter of proletariat our party will never allow factions. If factions continue to exist in our ranks in spite of our warnings, they will be liquidated

In short,

Devrimci Sol aimed at forming a Proletarian Party;

-equipped with the ideology of the proletariat,

-will be play an ideological and political leading role in the liberation struggle of our people.

-has an organization which can fulfil its tasks in the route of PASS.

-has steeled discipline.

-where the minority is subject to the majority's opinion,

-has a hierarchical structure from top to bottom,.

-operates the principle of criticism and selfcriticism.

-based on secrecy.

-allows no factions..

In booklet issued in 1983, Devrimci Sol said:

"The party is an organization which

-has an Uninterrupted Revolutionary Strategy

-carries out the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist Popular Revolution to a classless society.

-is equipped with the ideology of Marxism and Leninism

-will play leading role in the class struggle in every condition.

Isn't it possible to liberate a country without any party organization?

Nowadays, there are different views on a Marxist-Leninist Party. But, these don't call themselves a party. Here, the important thing is not the name of the organisation but its function. The history of revolutions has witnessed a number of organizations which mobilized the masses and broke the hegemony of oppressive regimes and came to power. For example, the Movement of 26th July, Cuba, declared itself a party in 1961. At the same time; In Nicaragua the FSLN was a compound form of organizations, but not a party.

What is important is to form an organization with a perspective of social transformation.

What is important is to continue with every kind of struggle (armed-armless) till the liberation of the country from imperialism and oligarchy and implementation of full national independence and sovereignty of the people.

It is not important what ever the name is. If it's seen as a question of name the idea of organized power of people can not be materialized. The FSLN in Nicaragua is a good example of how they are far from fulfilling the mission. They faced many difficulties after coming to power because they had no party formation. What is needed is to establish a strong-willed and strong-minded party ■

OUR PEOPLE'S WAR WILL BE TAKEN SHAPE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNITED REVOLUTIONARY WAR

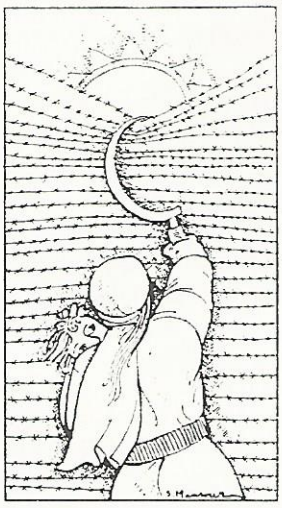
The Day of Labourer Women

FOR A WORLD WITHOUTH EXPLOITATION

Revolutionaries celebrated the Day of Labourer Women in accordance with the traditions. Squares of cities, schools, districtive areas were the place of celebrations. Different kinds of activities, festivities were organized all over the country.

ISTANBUL

The Platform of Right and Freedom, The Woman Commissions of BEM-SEN (Union of Civil servants of Municipal), SAGLIK-SEN (Union of Civil Servants of Healthy) and the members of TUM BEM-SEN (Union of all Civil servants of Municipal) had chosen the squares in order to celebrate the Day of Labourer Women. Hundreds of people came together to celebrate the international Labourer Women's Day on front of the Istanbul Municipality. The parents of martyres and prisoners carried the pictures of their children. Celebration went on with the folk songs of Grup Yorum.



In University of Istanbul, more than 1500 high education students gathered. Revolutionary Musical Groups participated to celebrations with revolutionary-folk songs.

In the poorest part of the city hundreds of women organized celebrations. In the slum districts Samandıra und Güzeltepe, more than 1000 women joined the celebrations.

On 6th of March, 3000 people made a march and came together in meeting organized by Unions and different mass organizations in Çağlayan-Istanbul.

Revolutionary Woman Movement which is an organization of Devrimci Sol, organized some actions during the day of Labourer Women. Thousands of declarations were delivered, many slogans were written on the walls of city. Fighters of Women Movement hung on a banner in Gebze with the words „Sabo, Esma, Eda are our honour-Revolutionary Woman's Movement"

ANKARA

International Day of Labourer Women was celebrated with festivities in Ankara. Unions, Women Groups from Democratic Mass Organizations, the Ankara Platform of Woman for Peace and the Ankara Platform of Rights and Freedom participated the festivities.

In Ankara University, High Education Students who are members of AYO-DER (Solidarity Association with the High Education Youth of Ankara) organized a meeting in campus.

MERSIN

More than 5000 people from Adana OZGUR-DER (The Association of Rights and Freedom of Adana), High School's student from DLMK (Struggle Committee for Democratic Lycee), SAGLIK-SEN, Workers of Liman-Is (Trade Union of Dock Workers) made a march and organized meeting because of the anniversary of Day of Labourer Women. Masses shouted the slogans of „Hail to our mothers who are struggling for freedom of Revolutionary prisoners; Hail to Sabo and Eda who stood, fought against Imperialism and Oligarchy to the last drop of blood and to the last bullet of their weapon (Sabo was the member of Central Committee of Devrimci Sol, murdered by police teams on April 17, 1992 in Istanbul). Hail to people who are resisting in jails, streets and mountains." Participants carried the pictures of woman martyres during the meeting. Representatives of different organizations held speeches.

MALATYA

There had been organized a festivity in represent house of Tavir in Malatya by labourers of Tavir and Mucadele. Theatre actors exhibited their study about the life of a guerilla wife.

IZMIR

In Aegean University, high education students from TODEF (Federation of Associations of High Education Youth of Turkey) made a celebration under threat of police teams surrendering the participants. On the same day, there had been made another celebration in Izmir Hospital by the members of SAGLIK-SEN.

TRABZON

The Platform of Democracy which consists of Unions and Democratic Mass Organizations made a press conference participating of 200 persons in Meydan Park. There had been opened picture and caricature exhibitions in the same park.

BOLU

The students from TODEF made a festivity. A mother from TIYAD held a speech and made a call of struggle. A panel of caricature opened by organizers.

SIVAS

There had been organized a panel in Cultural Centre of Sivas and held speeches by the representatives of EGIT-SEN, IHD, TUM SAGLIK-SEN. Participants protested the Massacre of Sivas, shouting of slogans and emphasized the importance of Brotherhood of peoples.

KONYA-ELAZIG

In Selcuk University of Konya, police teams attacked the students who gave effort to organize a meeting for celebration of Labourer Women's Day 7 Students were taken into detention. On the same day, police teams raided the Association of Human Rights in Elazig and prevented the prepare of celebration. Despite oppressions, celebration was made in EGIT-SEN.

WOMEN FOUND THEIR REAL IDENTITY IN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT! ■

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR IN TURKEY AND KURDISTAN
in January and February 1994

	January	February
■Disappeared people under supervision	10	29
■Death by torture	19	16
■Murdered by the Counter-Guerrilla	55	73
■Depopulated and ruined villages	36	18
*People taken into custody	1067	887
■Arrested people	41	153
■Imprisoned Journalists	54	68
■Arrested Journalists	38	
■Authors and Editors imprisoned	28	
■Associations attacked by the police	27	
■Collected magazines and papers	28	18
*Number of soldiers and officials punished by the guerrilla	371	
*Village-guards punished by the guerrilla	63	
*Number of Counter-guerrilla, Police and informants punished by the guerrilla	54	
*Number of killed guerrillas in Kurdistan	49	
*Village guards who gave in their weapons	68	
*Number dismantled army barracks by the army itself	2	

*Army-equipment destroyed by the guerrilla: 2 aeroplanes
3 Helicopters
4 tanks
4 armoured cars
and 24 trucks

Total amount and fine for writers and publishers.....109 persons, 51.564 billion

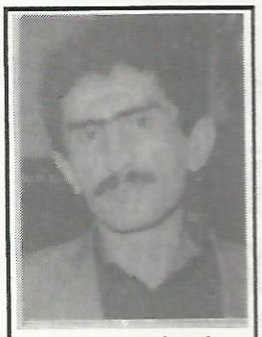
Number of bombed and fired building of associations and party by state forces.....15

This list is not complete.

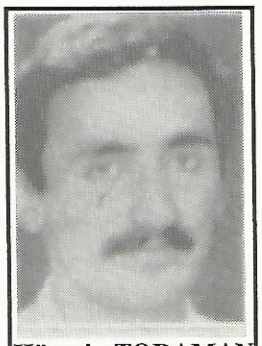
**This figures we learned from magazines and the publications from the ARGK.*

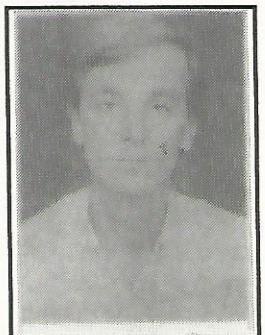
The list puts shame on the turkish state „DISAPPEARANCES"

He was captured by the political police in Istanbul at 14 March 1991. 3 days later, at March the 17th, some other arrested people saw him. It clearly showed he had been tortured. Even with these witnesses, the Istanbul police maintained it's statement they did not arrest him.

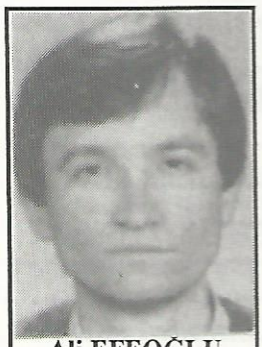

Yusuf ERİŞTİ

He was arrested at October the 27 1991. His wife and a lot of people saw him getting arrested. A policeman stated that he was killed while being tortured. They hid his body somewhere in Gebze.


Hüseyin TORAMAN

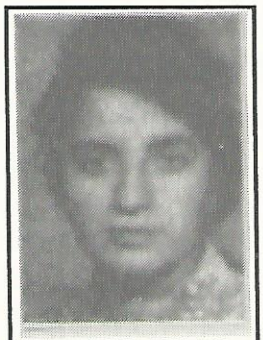

Ayhan EFEOĞLU

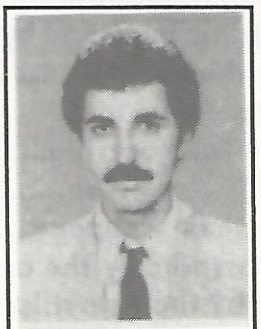
He was a student on the Yildiz University. He was arrested many times before. The police many times threatened to kill him. At October the 6th, he disappeared.


Ali EFEOĞLU

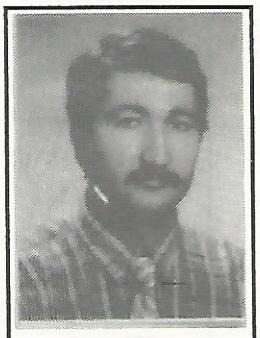
Brother of Ayhan, he was studying Civil Engineering at the Istanbul Technical University. He disappeared at 5 January 1994. Since then it seems nobody knows where he is.

A Journalist from Özgür Gündem was kidnapped by the civil police in front of the Central Office of Özgür Gündem in Istanbul. Many people witnessed it happen. He is missing since August the 7th. 1993


Aysel MALKAÇ

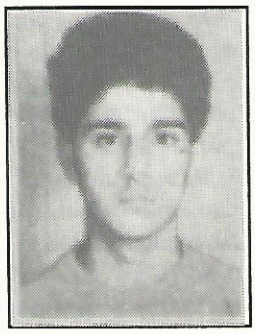

Hasan GÜLÜNAY

He left his home on 20 July 1992. After this date his family officially did not hear anything about him. Some eyewitnesses did see him in the office of the political police.

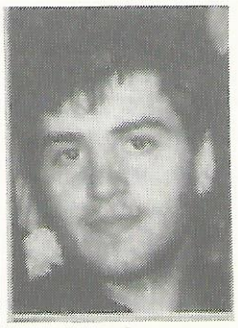

Erdoğan ŞAKAR

He was taken with police after the massacre in the „Perpa" office building in Istanbul. At August 13 the police took him after they had killed all the others, present in a cafe. Still there is no information about where he is.

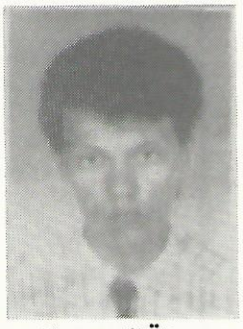
In Kurdistan: MORE THEN HUNDRED PEOPLE HAVE 'DISAPPEARED'



Serhan Dehmen, Ahmet Çakıcı, Üzeyir Kurt, Mehmet Şah Atalay, A. Celil Aydoğdu, Abdi Yamak, M. Salih Akdeniz, Hasan Avar, M. Şerif Avar, Aydın Demir, Behçet Tutuş, Baha Şimşek, Ümit Tas, Nusrettin Yerlikaya...


Hüsamettin YAMAN

Students of the university of Istanbul were arrested by the police, May 5, 1992. Since this happened nobody anything about there where about.

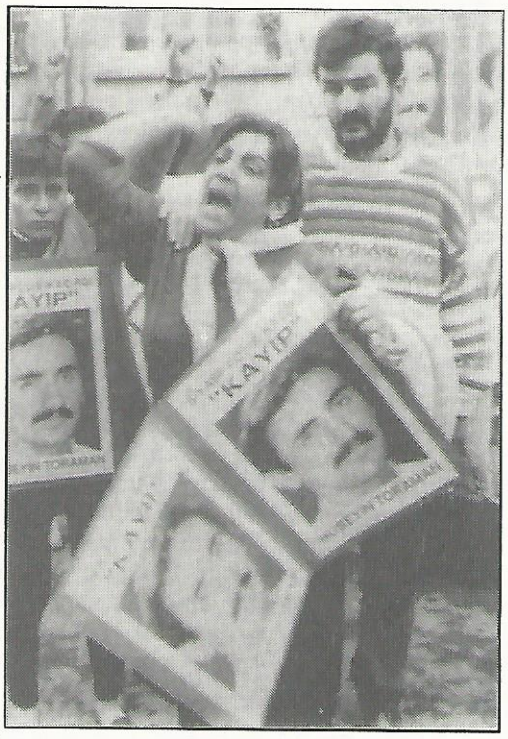

Soner GÜL

These are only the names of people who have disappeared we know about. Hundreds of revolutionaries and patriots and human right activists were kidnapped and or arrested. Despite a lot of witnesses nobody knows where they are.

Disappeared Persons

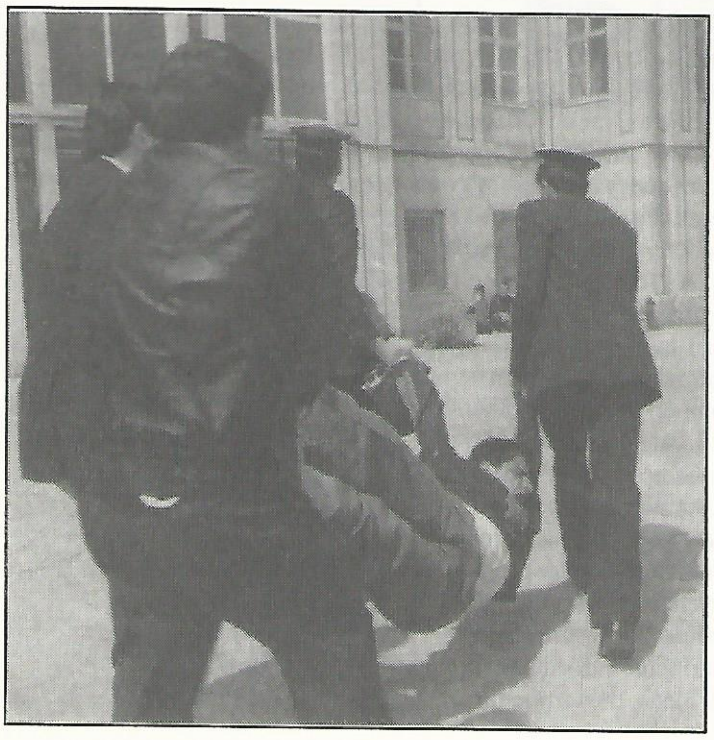
The ruling class has big debts towards the people and the revolutionary movement with their American patented politics. After the 50's, the increasing American influence shows clearer and clearer in the crimes it commites against the people and the revolutionaries. The ruling class of the colonies of the USA and the USA itself fight to totally destroy the resistance of the people or to pacify it. For this they use all kinds of methods: Massacre's, torture, complots, psychological warfare, isolation and letting people 'disappear'.

The fascist counter-guerilla forces cut of the heads of some villagers and placed them on posts beside the road.



The similarity of torture methods in different countries clearly show that the methods come from one centre: the USA. With the help of „American advisers" a lot of people were „disappeared". This happened in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, the Middle East and several African countries. The same process also started in Turkey in the late 70's. Since then one- thousand people „disappeared." This number is increasing every day.

The policy of „disappearances" is one of the most effective methods for scaring the people and the pacification of the revolutionary resistance. The kidnapping of revolutionaries happens secretly or in public. After that they are tortured, later their bodies are dumped somewhere where they can be found or not. This depends on the strategy that lies behind it.



The research from relatives and human right organisations never succeed. The responsible officials never answer the questions.

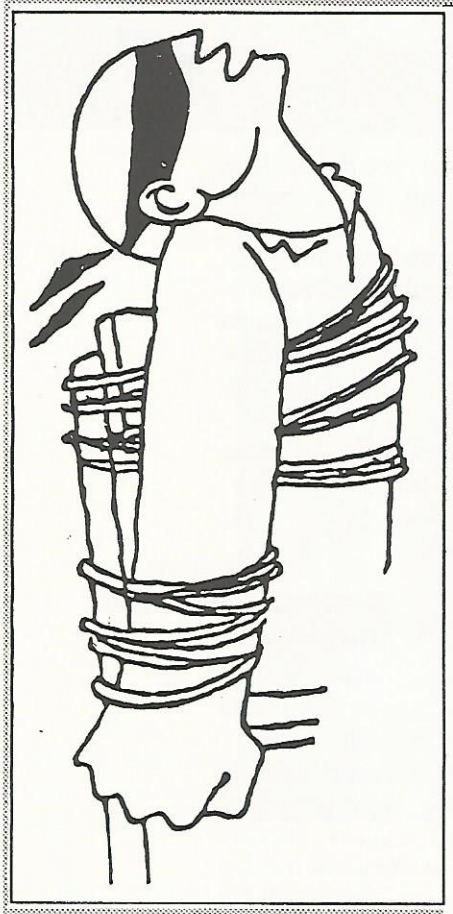
The strategy letting people disappear partly works now and then. The last analyses show that this policy finally works against the ruling class.

Some examples from Kurdistan:

The fascist counter-guerilla forces cut of the heads of some villagers and placed them on posts beside the road.

They kill religious patriots of villages. In Jan. 1994, they threw the body out of a helicopter on the village square. They are bombing a villages and afterwards they kill all the young people. This blood will kill fascism. The revolutionary justice will give an answer as before. The „disappearance" of people and executions will never stop the revolutionary struggle ■

Torture is a crime against humanity. For the ruling classes in Turkey it is their last method to keep the power..

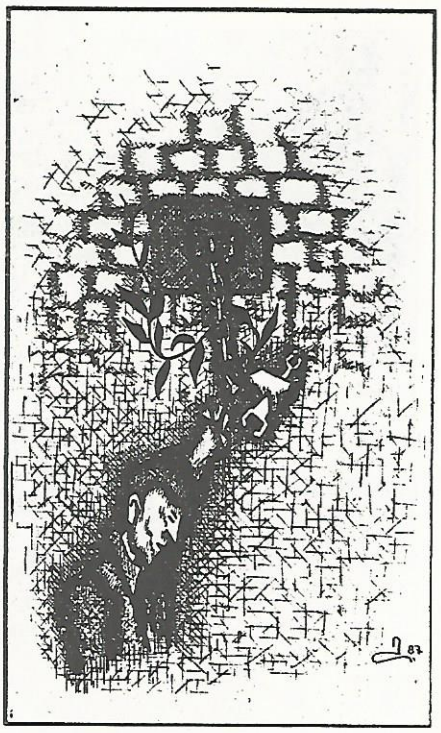


One of the most important method of fascist terror:

TORTURE

The barbarity of the Turkish State has no limits in Turkey and Kurdistan. Continuously they integrate new torture methods. It is their only way to fight the increasing revolutionary resistance. Nowadays thousands of people are killed and even more people are handicapped as a result of torture. Torture is a crime against humanity. For the ruling classes in Turkey it is their last method to keep the power. For the revolutionary movement, torture chambers are just another front they have to conquer. Their only weapons are their bodies and their revolutionary spirit. Nowadays, the fascists have developed new technologies for torturing. Their aim is to break the people and to win the psychological warfare. In the torture chambers the revolutionary struggle is depending on individuals. In fact they are never alone, the torture they have to deal with is aimed at the whole society. He or she is representing the people and the ideology of his or her organisation. The enemy wants to receive information about the revolutionary organisation or about his or her comrades. For this they use different methods of torture. In a way the torture chambers are a kind of examination, it shows where the revolutionary person stands in the struggle for the freedom of the people and where the person stands towards its organisation. For a revolutionary, the torture chamber is the place where unempromisseness and the principle of not telling anything to the enemy are the most high revolutionary standards. He or she can not loose if he or she not yields for the enemy. There is not a third way for this: resist or surrender. The main goal of torture is not the physical pain. The torture is aimed at the psychological destruction of the revolutionaries and their movement. That's why physical pain has a role of deepening the psychological destruction. He or she knows why to perish the pain.

The bourgeoisie has another reason use torture: they hope to break the



trust from the common people in the revolutionary movement. A revolutionary who breaks and betrays its people and organisation can not give hope to the people who want to change the society.

The war between the proletarian class and the part of society that cooperates with imperialism is at a very high point right now. It is very clear who is a revolutionary and who is counter-revolutionary. That is why the revolutionary people must be ready to struggle even if this can mean they are going to be killed. Another attitude means „betrayal."

The ruling class is aware of this, that's why they also use the weapon of „disappearance." They want to increase the pressure to talk by saying „you can live or you can die."

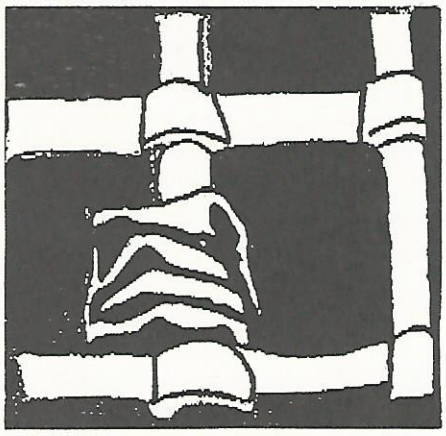
When a person get tortured they try to find a weak spot. For this a lot of scientific studies of human psychology are committed and the fascists attack a person there where they think they found a weak spot. They mock about the personal live of their victim, its ideas and socialism. After that they start the physical torture. Continuously they threaten to kill their victim, they rape their victim. All of this has just one goal: the psychological destruction of the revolutionary. How they torture is not the main point. The main point is the revolutionary moral, this determs if torture can be resisted or not. According to victims of torture in Turkey, there are more than a hundred different methods for torture being used.
Some of them:

* Electric shocks
* electric shocks while hanging
* Palestinian hanging
* Hanging on the hands
* cause of the testicles
* Pulling of the nails.
* Beating
* Harassing
* sharp object in the ears
* breaking of the teeth
* pulling of the teeth
* rape (to women and men)
* swingletree
* anal rape with objects
* high pressurised water
* forcing to lay on icecubes
* pulling out mustache and beards
* letting dogs attack prisoners
* spraying with hot water
* sticking with needles
* burning with cigarettes
* beating with sandbags
* keeping awake
* keeping handcuffed and blindfolded for a very long time
* almost drowning
* pushing into shit

All of these methods are used differential. It depends on factors like: How the person was arrested, what is the position of the arrested person in the organisation, what are the charges, the information the police already has on the tortured person, the resistance of the person, the personality of the prisoner, etc. They do not always use the same methods at the same level and all of them, sometimes they do all methods.

The Turkish revolutionary movement has a long history concerning torture. They have created a big tradition in resisting torture. The guerrilla and it's sympathizers won many times inside the house of the enemy. They used their revolutionary spirit to fight against the illegal methods of torture which are used to persuade revolutionaries to betray their organisation, to talk and to sign statements. The police in Turkey knows a revolutionary because he or she resists the torture. Imperialism and it's footmen, the enemies of the people, use massacres, torture and „disappearances" against the resistance of the people. They never shall win. The revolutionary justice of the people and our love for freedom will smash the peoples enemies.
Executioners and their system one day will stand trial, they will have to answer the questions the people ask them.

„ When the people rule, justice will be done and there will be no reason to forgive them." ■



For a revolutionary, the torture chamber is the place where unempromisseness and the principle of not telling anything to the enemy are the most high revolutionary standards. He or she can not loose if he or she not yields for the enemy. There is not a third way for this: resist or surrender.

HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH / „Fascist disciplinary regulations must be abolished"

Under the leadership of the DLMK (Committees of Struggle for Democratic High Schools), students are rising up against unseasonable fascist disciplinary regulations, fascist teachers and repression in general at their schools. These regulations are designed to hold back the students' struggle for their rights. The state creates terror in the schools, because it is afraid of the organized students, the rise in consciousness and the student' struggle for their rights. As a result of these regulations students are dismissed from schools. Where the regulations do not satisfy the school management, they cooperate with the police and let students be arrested. They also use repression against the students' relatives. They attempt, in this way, to restrict students in as many ways as possible. The police have tortured thousands of students and raped many. They also attempt to convince students to spy for the police. We do not known the exact number of students attacked and betrayed by the police and school management. Their aim is to create youth who are insensitive to the rest of society and who do not fight for their rights. Those who are responsible for these regulations want to indoctrinate youth with capitalist ideas. They also want to stop students from organising.

Education is currently free of charge at high school level. They want to change this also. The main victim of such a change would be the poor.

The DLMK has raised its voice against all these regulations. It has organised many activities, demonstrations and occupations. It has organised the students. Their slogans are: „Let us get organised" and „Let us unite, let us fight". Under these slogans DLMK takes the struggle forward.

Here are some of the demands put forward by the DLMK:

-The students' political records must no longer be handed over to the police. They must be destroyed. It must be made clear who is responsible for compiling these files and they must be punished.

-The disciplinary regulations must be reviewed. They must be changed in a democratic way. Fascist students and police spies must be removed from the schools.

-Beatings, shouting and other kinds of repression must be abolished.

-The dismissal of unsuccessful students must be stopped. The reason students cannot cope with the school are not the students but the system. Unsuccessful students may no longer be punished.

-Students must be allowed to wear whatever clothes they like.

-All anti-democratic processes must be stopped immediately. Currently, it is forbidden to carry certain books and magazines; discussing with teachers is not allowed.

-The system of students spying on one another must be stopped.

-Currently, when students demonstrate, the police manhandles and arrests them. Thereupon the school authorities kick them out of school. This must stop!

-Now the police and the gendarmes are allowed to go into schools whenever they like. This must stop!

-The Ministry of Education must stop cooperating with the police and the fascist directors of high-schools. They must stop systematically turning schools into fascist breeding grounds. All fascist and fundamentalist school directors must be kicked out ■

The youth has been always a dynamic force... also at anti-imperialist actions.

STUDENTS ARE LOYAL TO THEIR TRADITION CREATED BY MARTYRS

On March 1, 1994

Fascist attacked the students from TÖDEF (Federation of High Education Youth of Turkey) who played an instrument in canteen of University of Afyon-Kocatepe. But, they were driven away because of the resistance of Revolutionary students. Administers of faculty efforted to empty the canteen by means of police teams and Swift Force Policemen. No students agreed with them and no one went out.

On March 4, 1994

Revolutionary and democrat students from the Faculty of Language, History and Geography of Ankara University organized a meeting in the campus in order to protest the massacre of El-Halil in Palestine. They held speech and cursed the Zionist massacre and carried several banners signed by AYÖ-DER (Association of Solidarity with High Education Youth of Ankara) and Revolutionary Communists.

On the same day, in İstanbul students of Marmara University came together and protested the TC's (Turkish Republic) Dirty War in Kurdistan and the massacre of El-Halil.

Students fired the flags of United States and Israel in each meeting.

On March 7, 1994

In Middle East Technical University of Ankara, students gave an end to shopping in canteen to protest the privatisation of canteen. Many students refused to buy goods from canteen and boycotted the shopping. They found alternative means of shopping and built a new canteen and delivered the needs of students. They exhibited an example of solidarity and „unity in practice".

On March 9, 1994

At Eskişehir, University of Anatolian, students organized a sign campaign in order to protest the teaser-aggressor behaviours of policemen to revolutionary and democrat students, especially to the girls. Different Democratic Mass Organisations supported the activity of students.

In Istanbul Technical University, students organized a „festivity of solidarity" in order to solidarity with the students who had been put out of Students Dormitory by fascist administers because of their activity which was about protest the living conditions in Dormitories. They organized a sign campaign titled with „We want to live humanely in Dormitories". Participants carried some banners and gave speech.

At Malatya, Lycee of Pötürge, revolutionary students have been threatened by the administers of lycee and fascist students because of no acting of worship.

In Adana, students from the faculties of Ceyhan and Osmaniye demanded to make a conversation with Dean of Faculty about the fascist attacks and pressure of police teams in University. They had an interview with vice of Dean. In period of conversation, gendarmerie troops surrounded the Dean's office and campus. Students refused to empty the office. At last, Gendarmes drove away because of the resistance of students. When the students went out of the office, they gave a petition which included the list of demands of students to Vice of Dean ■

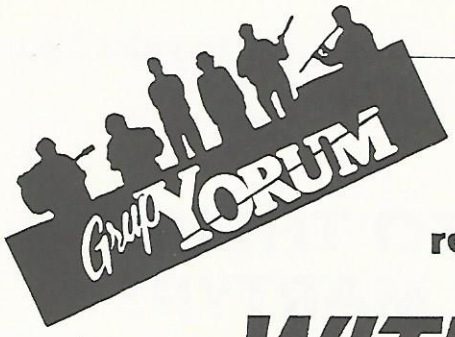
THE CELEBRATION OF „DEV-GENÇ IN EUROPE" „WE ARE THE YOUNG HOPES OF OUR PEOPLES"

„We are great! We great those who hold up the banner of Freedom, Justice and of Socialism in the mountains, in rural areas, in the streets, in fabrics and universities as well as in our resistance in which we responded one bullet with one thousand slogans of Devrimci Sol. We great our human beings all together with their sons and daughters, with their older and younger; the whole workers of our Turkish, Kurdish, Circassion and Georgian peoples who have the power to resist against the brutality of fascism by sweated effort and by sacrificing their lives! We great our young who make freedom an oath at he guerilla, a war-slogans on the firing-line; our cruel mothers and fathers of our struggle; the working people of the 'Gecekondu's (squatter's house) and of courageous resistance; our human beings who build all together shields with their own bodies in Lice, Hazro, Botan, Dersim to live free; and we great the Kurdish working people! We great our friends from different fraternal nations who back up our people and who go to endless trouble. Hello our people, hello our martyrs..... We say 'hello' to the whole mankind..."

The celebration that Dev-Genç in Europe organised in the city Hamm of Germany on 18 December started with this words. The celebration of Dev-Genç in Europe who says „We are the young hopes of our peoples, we will conquer the freedom from the same front" has become a symbol that the spirit of Dev-Genç has echoes with its struggle also in Europe. Dev-Genç in Europe who will erect barrier against casinos, amusement arcades, drug sectors; shortly against in Europe and who will widespread the revolutionary culture, create a new spirit and a new front in Europe has shown in this celebration also that it is for the youth.

The speakers, who came from Turkey, and Grup Yorum together with Özgürlük Türküsü increased the excitement of the celebration in which round 700 people participated.

The celebration in that the messages were read, very often such slogans as „Long Live Dev-Genç", „Long Live Devrimci Sol", „Long Live Our Leader Dursun Karataş" were shouted, and the folk songs, marches with a great joy were sung, finished with „halay"s (Anatolian Folk-dance) ■



The short summary of our revolutionary cultural inheritance

WITHOUT STOPPING...

Revolutionary Organisation which had been formed with aims at organizing the struggle against exploitation and oppression of warped Capitalism was an embryo of the new society in our country. Socialist culture also had been taken shape in the same period. Progressive values in music field were being limited in the area of Tradition as folk music during years. Folk musicians like Pir Sultan or Dadaloğlu known well among people were the milestones of improvement of Democratic Culture. Different sections of society was improving and preserving their cultural values.

It was quite normal in the period of losing quantities in relations of humane, degeneration and in the period of the scarcity of great souls. People preferred to protect their feudal values created by long years struggle. Because, Revolutionary Movement had not been yet established.

Improvement in Revolutionary Movement had been an influence for Revolutionary Music. Ruhi Su (folk musician) played an important role in folk music.

Many Musician's had been organized between '70 and '80. Besides that, Revolutionary Movement had great influence with the musicians.

In this period, the new kind of artistry had been taken shape. But, it is not really realized as an understanding of lifestyle. Understanding of „organized-revolutionary artistry-Collective production in Art-Revolutionary creativeness" couldn't be materialized and internalised as expected. Artistic studies could not be analysed as component part of Revolutionary Activities.

Classical-traditional kinds of musical studies were more common than the new culture and it had deepest sympathies by large number of people. Revolutionary artists composed numberless of folk songs. The new human-being, class struggle, resistance etc. were the main subjects of folk songs. The folk songs were of great importance for our working class. And, Revolutionary folk songs effected the people deeply between 1970 and 1980.

Despite all, the ideological weaknesses of Left Wing showed itself in the area of culture and art. The new type of consistent-revolutionary artist could not be created because of the wrong and weak policies. Many of them had been stayed in the popularization sphere of influence. State of being liked or admired by many people was of great importance for them. They could not follow the way of revolutionary artistry and also did not stay close to their revolutionary tasks.

During the period of fascist junta, 12th September, 1980, many artists left the political field. Most of them escaped from country for fear of junta. Some of them began to propagate the thoughts of junta and values and living standards of bourgeoisie. They easily became an instrument of terroristic regime.

In 1985's, Revolutionary artists gave effort to create Revolutionary Studies in behalf of oppressed and exploited people. The new musical group were established like Grup Yorum, Grup Ekin, Özgürlük Türküsü, etc. Contemporary Folks Songs were arranged in consequence of Revolutionary Developments.

Revolutionary Musicians had chosen to be a part of the struggle of Democracy. They insisted on defending the expressions like „Collectivism and being Organized" despite the artists who had changed their thoughts, minds in accordance with the conditions of new terroristic period. And also, they began to study as a nameless soldier of Revolutionary Movement.

There have been created a new type of artist who have practised in behalf of people and have defended their rightness in even the courts of fascist regime. They were ready to pay the cost of their studies. They have sentenced the Oligarchic Dictatorship in every condition by their studies despite the risk of paying cost.

These were the typical of Revolutionary Artists who studied with the perspective of Contemporary Folk Song and against the artists who had named themselves as „progressive, leftist" etc.

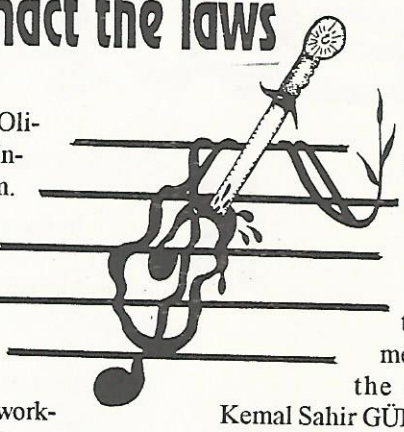
Revolutionary struggle gave the inspiration for the Revolutionary Artists. Other were stupefied by what they practised. Naturally, Revolutionary artists were put entirely apart from other artists. But, they insisted on making them joining the ranks of people powers.

Nowadays, there are a lot of groups or artists who have no revolutionary value, no belief in the revolution. It can easily be said that, there is no difference between bourgeois artists and them. They were very successful at imitating the others. They generally copy the behaviour or studies of former artists. Those who have no tradition, no belief, have no future either.

We, as revolutionary artists, refuse the artistic studies far from the reality of life, class struggle. Everyone should obey the rules of life and study belonging to the principles and discipline of class struggle. Some who practice and product some meaningless studies in the name of working class, cheat themselves. They claim that being organized have been limiting the creativeness. On the contrary, as may be seen, it is proved that Revolutionary Struggle created people who reason politically, who are loyal to the people's traditions, who appreciate the organisation and who product the perfect studies ■

GRUP YORUM
(Revolutionary Musician Group From Turkey)

THOSE WHO COMPOSE THE SONGS OF A NATION are stronger than those who enact the laws



Revolutionary artists are under the oppression of fascism-linked with Imperialism- in our country. Degenerate and reactionary cultural(!) activities are being supported by local and general authorities of state. Besides that, artists who practice in behalf of working class are being threatened, tortured or imprisoned. Activities are being restricted. Hundreds of suits have been brought against the artists who have been fighting with their instruments, pencils etc. In such manner that, several months ago, 37 artists and ordinary people who had come to a city (Sivas) for cultural activities were burned and murdered by reactionary-fascist powers provoked and sponsored by police, counter-guerilla and local authorities. Or, many of the artists were executed by counter-guerilla armed and directed by fascist regime in streets.

Member of Grup Yorum (Revolutionary-Musical Group in Turkey) became the target of fascist regime. They often were taken under detention and also most of them were imprisoned for several times. Group Yorum is the voice workers, civil-servants, the people of shanty-town, Revolutionary Youth, Turkish and Kurdish people who are being exploited and murdered. Grup Yorum had to be a part of Revolutionary Movement which fight against Imperialism and Oligarchy for Democracy, Independence and Socialism. They joined to every kind of actions, strikes, demonstrations, resistance of people. They were -with their instruments- behind the people of shanty-town, students, workers, the people of districtive areas, peasants. They never left the exploited people a lone. They were in the forefront of the struggle.

Naturally, they faced many kinds of oppressions. They have been forced to pay the cost of their ideals, opinions, actions and struggle. But, they never hesitated in a matter and never desist from their struggle. When the period of oppression storm and stress is past, they stood up, got strong and continued to struggle uninterruptedly. And also, they gave a powerful impetus to their revolutionary studies in musical area.

Kemal Sahir GÜREL and Elif Sumru GÜREL the members of Grup Yorum were being wanted to penalty by fascist state in fringing their own laws. But, Revolutionary artists refused the penalty and did not surrender to police. Kemal Sahir GÜREL seized several weeks ago and was arrested■

For, protest action and demonstrations were hold up in world wide, especially in Europe and Middle East. Organisations, parties, different establishments, persons protested the arbitrary arrest of Kemal Sahir GÜREL. A sing campaign is still continuing for that reason.

We want to add:

You will never be victorious!

Because, Grup Yorum is the name of a tradition. You will not be able to break with the tradition!

Despite the terroristic attacks of fascist regime, revolutionary artists studied as a nameless soldier of Revolutionary Movement.

The fire of freedom and struggle NEWROZ

Newroz is a traditional day of Kurdish people.

In the very olden times; the peoples of Middle East united and revolted against the oppressor and bloody dictator „DEHAK" and had been victorious.

The people of Middle East have been celebrating the day of Newroz by building fire on every 21st of March as a struggle day towards freedom.

An ironworker, named a KAWA, headed the rebellion of people under pressure of Dehak for liberation and freedom and killed the oppressor Dehak for his crimes. For, the day of Newroz has been kept in memory of people in Middle East.

Nowadays, the Kurdish people are screaming because of centuries of terror, torture and massacre. But, they are longing for freedom and to take a stand for their identity. The fire of freedom is being carried on widespread despite the terror and massacres of the „New DEHAKS". Tradition is continuing and Kurdish people are fighting with their weapons for liberation. The fire of Newroz has been brightening up our country.

Marxist-Leninists in Turkey and Kurdistan and patriots are fighting for liberation and freedom against Imperialism and Oligarchy. Oligarchy drives the poor Kurdish people to the different regions, the houses of peasants are being bombed, being burned and people are terrorized by aircraft, tanks. Turkey and Kurdistan became an area of war against people. The policies of genocide and assimilation had become a marking reality of Turkey. Kurdish people's language and culture are forbidden. It's restricted to improve or research about the Kurdish history, culture and language. Oppression, torture and state terror are being applied together with it. But, they are not able to hinder the struggle of Kurdish people. Devrimci Sol fights in order to make the struggle of Kurdish people gain a route within the class approach, to overthrow the fascism with the united struggle of peoples, to give an end to the existence of Imperialism in Turkey and Kurdistan.

We, as Marxist-Leninists, refuse the reforms materialized by struggle's forcing. Because, these will not serve for the lasting solution in any aspects.

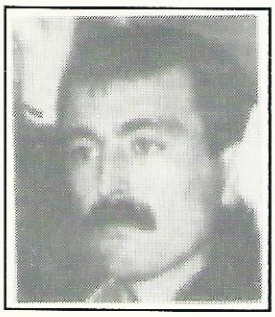
The fascist state wants to solve this problem with guns and does not leave any alternative for us other than responding this with our gun.

Because of this, NEWROZ must be celebrated as a day of solidarity with all oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism and as a day strengthening the unity and brotherhood between nations.

LONG LIVE NEWROZ!

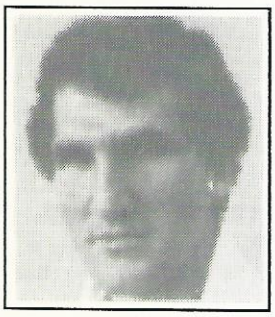
LONG LIVE BROTHERHOOD OF PEOPLES! ■

OUR MARTYRES ARE OUR HONOUR



YÜCEL MARAL

He was the commander of the Rural Guerilla Unit of Black Sea Region. He started the revolutionary struggle in 1988. He became one of the combatants of DEV-GENÇ (Revolutionary Youth). He took part in the ranks of Rural Guerilla Units of Black Sea Region in 1992. He was the leading cadre of guerilla units and never gave the weapon out off his hand and fell with his comrades on March 12 in the mountains of Black Sea.

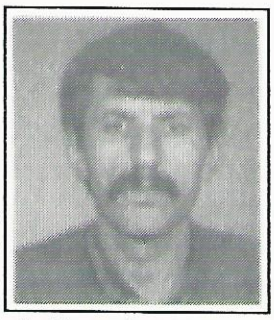


ALI FAIK ÖZKAN

He was born in Avaramen villiage of Kastamonu as a son of Turkish family. He continiously repeated that he wanted to return to the mountains of Kastamonu as a pioneer of guerilla activities. He fell after hours of fighting, resistance and fulfilled his revoluionary tasks.

YAVUZ YAZLI

He was born in Karabuk and was a son of a poor worker family. He took part in Rural Guerilla Units of Black Sea Region. He became one of the heroes of our Revolutionary Struggle.



BAHATTIN ANIK

The Commander of the Black Sea Region Rural Guerilla Unit. He was born in Trabzon in 1962. In his youth, he joined the ranks of the Revolutionary Youth Organisation of the Devrimci Sol. On February 9, 1994, he was ambushed by the Special Team and paramilitary forces in Ordu, and murdered brutally.

FERIDE KARACA

She was a daughter of poor Kurdish family. She came to know the revolutionary struggle when the guerillas of Devrimci Sol came to her villiage. She was the fighter of our people and there will be. She carried out all tasks without hesitation.

She fell in fight. Our woman fighters will follow her honourable life!

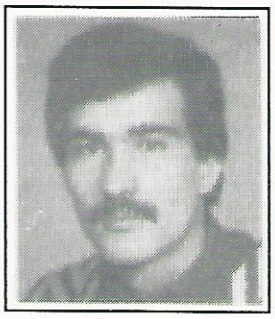
IRFAN YENILMEZ

He was born in Medrese villiage of Kirsehir. He attended Revolutionary Struggle in Bursa, University of Uludag and became one of the vanguards of acedemic-democratic struggle of University Youth. He was a representative of review of „Yeni Çözüm" in Bursa in 1989. In coming years, he became the authority of East Black Sea Region and spent his life working for revolution. He made great mistakes but did not distance himself. He tried again and again to renew himself. He became one of the heroes of resistance of Black Sea.

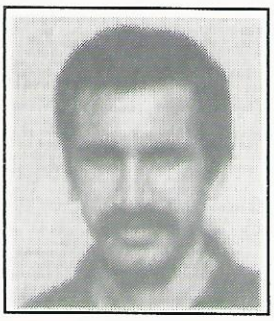
In February and March, the peasants of Ordu (a city in the Black Sea region) and Dersim (Region in Kurdistan) witnessed a brutal and bloody massacre. 9 Guerillas of the Devrimci Sol were killed by the forces of the fascist state. Everyone and everything is a target for the fascist regime.

All our martyrs are milestones along the road to the revolution. No massacre and no power can halt our Revolutionary March. Our fighters will fight to the last drop of their blood and to their final bullet. We will bring the killers to account.

NAZIM KARACA



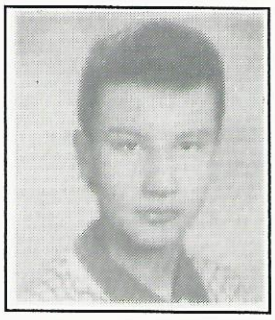
He was born in Koruk villiage of Elazig and was a combatant of the Platoon of Hayri KOÇ. He joined the activity of military camp of Devrimci Sol in 1990. He took part in all tasks as a militant member of Devrimci Sol and was a fighter who did not know what tiredness means until his death.



MÜRSEL GÖLELI

He was one of the fighters of Platoon of Hayri KOÇ belonging to the Commandership of Rural Guerilla Units of Ibrahim Erdogan.

He attended struggle before 1980. In 1990, he took part in forming of Military Camp of Devrimci Sol in Middle East and became the commander. He started the Rural Guerilla's activity first in Dersim and continiously fulfilled his revolutionary tasks awaiting him. He fought to the last bullet of his weapon.



BARIS ATALAY

He was one of the fighters of the Rural Guerilla Unit of the Black Sea Region. He was born in Merzifon. He was very young, but he wished strongly to join the struggle for the liberation of the workers and he always said he wants to go to the mountains. He started the guerilla training in the Rural Guerilla Unit in Black Sea Region in December 93.

„In this sense, comrade, don't worry about the liberation of the workers in the Black Sea Region we will continue the fight and defend the workers."

LONG LIVE THE FIGHTERS OF DEVRIMCI SOL! DOWN WITH FASCIST KILLERS!

Hulisi Sayin, General - Slaughterer of innocent Kurdish people and fighting guerillas, was executed by Devrimci Sol fighters for his crimes against Turkish and Kurdish people in 1991.